

THE  
DUBLIN REVIEW.

VOL. XXXIX.

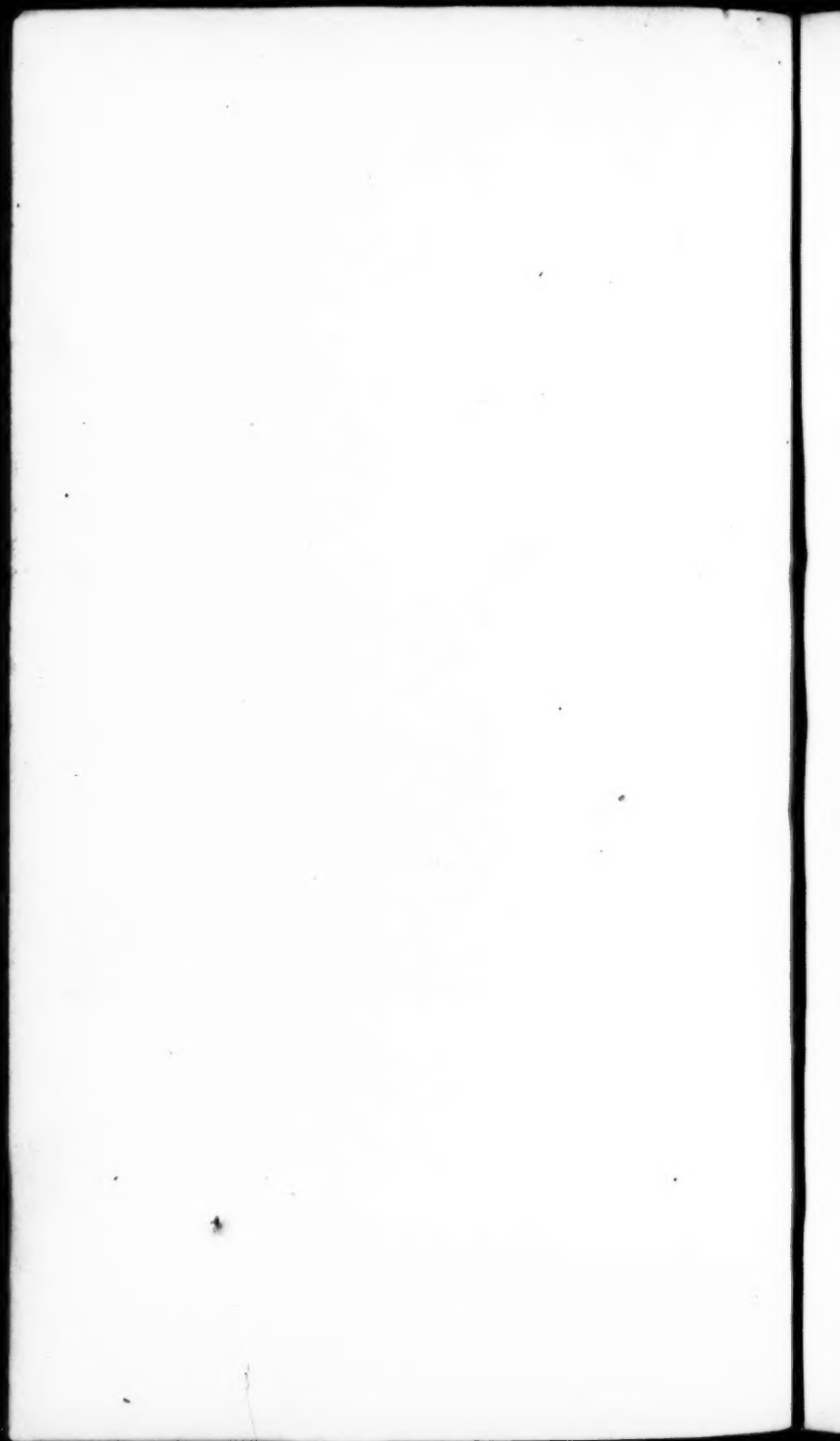
PUBLISHED IN  
*SEPTEMBER AND DECEMBER, 1855.*



LONDON:  
THOMAS RICHARDSON AND SON,  
147, STRAND; 9, CAPEL STREET, DUBLIN; AND DERBY.  
MARSH & BEATTIE, EDINBURGH; HUGH MARGEY, GLASGOW.  
NEW YORK: EDWARD DUNIGAN AND BROTHER, 151, FULTON STREET.  
PARIS: 22, RUE DE LA BANQUE, STASSIN AND XAVIER.

1855.







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ART. I.—1. *Audin's Life of Luther*. Translated by W. B. TURNBULL.  
London : Dolman, 1853.

2. *Gosselin's Power of the Popes*. Translated by the Rev. M. KELLEY.  
London : Dolman, 1852.

3. *A Succinct Account of Luther and his Writings*. By DR. DOELLINGER.  
London, Dublin, and Derby : Richardson and Son.

THERE is a very general impression that the Reformation arose through abuses in the Church. That this should be the Protestant notion of course is not strange, and one should expect to find it in Roscoe or in Ranke. The former of these writers, speaking of the causes of the Reformation, says: "Among these may be enumerated the misconduct of Alexander VI. and Julius II.; the usurpations and encroachments of the clergy on the rights of the laity, and the venality of the Roman Court."<sup>\*</sup> And the other of them says, "The pretensions of temporal princes to ecclesiastical power awakened a secular ambition in the Popes; the corruption and decline of religious institutions elicited the development of a new intellectual tendency, until the very foundations of the faith became shaken in public opinion."<sup>†</sup> Although at the commencement of this latter passage there is a slight approach towards the truth, the general idea conveyed by both historians, and we need hardly say by others, as by

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\* Life of Leo X. 90, Bohn's Ed.

† Hist. of Popes, v. i. p. 56.

Guizot, or even Schlegel, is that the Reformation was the result of, and the reaction from, abuses in the Church. If this idea were correct, if it embodied not only "the truth," but "the whole truth," and "nothing but the truth," it would go far of course to create a strong impression that the "Reformation" was indeed a *Reformation*. As the essence of the Reformation however was a revolt from Papal authority, it could only be vindicated by identifying the alleged abuses with the Holy See, and producing an impression that the Holy See was responsible for them. And such is the pervading impression among Protestants. Nor is this all. It prevails to a considerable extent even among Catholics of a certain class. Thus there are Catholics who profess that the objections of Churches not in communion with the See of Rome when enquired into, are found to be objections not to the fundamental doctrines of that Church, but to the practice in former times of the Court of Rome, and to its constitution even at the present time;—objections to the election of unworthy Pontiffs; the intrigues against Popes who meditated reforms; the acquisition of great wealth; the corruption occasioned by cupidity; the evil counsels that have led to Pontifical interference in the affairs of princes; to anathemas, interdicts, warfare, and bloodshed; the desolation of Italy and the estrangement of nations formerly in amity and communion with the Holy See. It may be true, they admit, that these evils are exaggerated; but there is still enough, they think, in the history of the Court of Rome, and something more than might be wished even in its constitution as it exists now, which furnish objections it would be well to remove. And it is not difficult to perceive that the only way of "removing" them in the mind of such writers is, to remove what they term the "Court of Rome," or the temporal power and possessions of the See of Rome. Such sentiments show that the question does not merely relate to the past, but to the present, and has a deep practical importance as regards the feelings of veneration and affectionate loyalty which good Catholics love to cherish for the Holy See. Yet, it would not be difficult to find, even in the pages of these Protestant writers themselves, testimonies tending strongly to invalidate the position they seek to establish, and to awaken *a priori*, in a candid mind, some suspicion that after all it is not tenable. For Roscoe and Ranke alike bear witness that, for a long time

anterior to the Reformation the Holy See had lost power among the nations, and they do not deny that this must chiefly be ascribed, nor can they conceal facts showing clearly that it is wholly to be ascribed, to the encroachments of the temporal power upon the spiritual, and the corrupting influences exerted, owing to the interference of princes in the affairs of the Church. And it is rather unfair to ascribe to the Holy See abuses which its enemies introduced, and of all power to correct which it had been by royal oppression deprived.

Yet, that such was the case history plainly shows, and even the historians who impeach the Papacy sufficiently attest. Legislation, like the statutes of provisors, and of *præmunire* in England, and the "Pragmatic Sanction" in France, had for ages deprived the Holy See, in a great degree, of its proper control over the patronage of the Church. And even princes most attached to the Holy See, had long lost the spirit of loyal and implicit obedience to its authority. To quote one instance from among innumerable ones that might be adduced. Muratori, quoted by Ranke, says that "Lorenzo de Medici followed the contumacious license of the greater kings and princes against the Roman Church, allowing nothing of the pontifical rights but as he saw good."\* And this is only cited as one striking authority to establish the general statement of the historian, that a universal tendency to the circumscription of Papal power was at this time manifested throughout Christendom in the south as in the north. It will not do to say that this was the result of Papal "corruptions, or a reaction from Papal encroachments;" for these very historians, and others more recent, and equally Protestant, establish that, with exceptions, whichever they admit to be rare, and which researches of Catholic historians are daily showing to be rarer still, even if they exist at all, the Popes were not open to the charge of corruption, and that, as regards their contests with temporal princes, they were, without *any* exception, in the *right*. On this subject the great work of Gosselin is invaluable. He says this is the opinion formed of the investiture question, not only by Catholic writers, but by Protestants, whose profound studies have led them to

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\* Ranke's Hist. Popes, vol. i. p. 31. in notes.

judge the Popes of the Middle Ages with a moderation unfortunately not always found in certain Catholic authors. "We have already," he says, "cited the testimony of Voigt, in his history of Gregory VII., and Hurter's, in his history of Innocent II., is not less remarkable." "It was in these first struggles of the Popes," he observes, "to defend their independence in all things pertaining to the government of the Church, that Christianity found its preservation from the tyranny of the temporal power, and its rescue from becoming a mere state religion among the pagans."\* And speaking of the struggles of the Popes as to their temporal possessions, he says, "In the opinion of an eminent Protestant Jurisconsult of the last century, all the Popes can be vindicated by the same arguments." "Good reason is there for asserting," observes Senchenberg, "that there is not in history a *single* example of a pope acting against sovereigns who were content with their own rights, and did not think of exceeding others."† It is established on Protestant testimony, that long before the Reformation, the Popes, who had never wrongfully encroached upon the temporal power, had been, by the wrongful aggressors of that power, deprived of their ancient influence in the affairs of the Church. In a general view this amply suffices to show that the theory which ascribes the Reformation to vices in the Church, is ever, if it be not false in fact, fallacious in reasoning,—for it requires to be proved, in order to burden the Holy See with the responsibility for abuses, (assuming them for the present to have existed to the extent alleged, which we do not admit,) that the Holy See had the power to prevent them; instead of which it is always assumed against it that their alleged existence is sufficient to criminate it, and to show that the "corruptions" in the Church arose from the corruptions in the Holy See! The current of Catholic literature is now, and has been for some time, tending at least upon the continent to vindicate the characters of Christ's Vicars; and the object of many of the most earnest and elaborate papers in this Journal has been simply to show that the historians who most violently impeach the character of Pontiffs, were in most cases the retainers of those princes, who, having plundered the Papacy, were

\* Gosselin, v. ii. p. 349. in notes. † Gosselin, v. ii. p. 337, in notes

the most deeply interested in the abasement of the Pontiffs whom they had made victims of their ambition. Now the greatest Catholic and Protestant writers attest the truth of that argument. Thus, Gosselin says, "All the ambition of the Popes was devoted to one object, the maintenance of the liberty of Rome, and of Italy against the emperors of Germany, who frequently revived the most unjust pretensions on that matter. 'To me it appears evident,' observes Voltaire himself, 'that the real cause of the quarrel between the Popes and the Emperors was, that the Popes and the *Romans* did not wish to have an emperor at Rome,' i.e. adds Count de Maistre, 'they did not wish to have a master in their own house.' 'It appears evident,' Voltaire continues, 'that the great design of Frederick II. was to establish in Italy the throne of the new Cæsars; it is perfectly certain that he wished to reign over Italy without control, and without partition. This is the secret spring of all his quarrels with the Popes. Religion was never the cause of the divisions between Frederick and the Holy See.'\*\* How unjust were the attempts at aggression on the Holy See by the German Emperors, will appear from the fact that they owed their very title to the Holy See. Gosselin establishes that Charlemagne owed the imperial title to the Pope alone, and that when conferring that title the Pope never intended to surrender the right of election in future,†—that the translation of the empire to the Germans was by the authority of the Pope;‡ and that after this, though the Pope did not directly elect the emperor, he long continued to have a great influence on the election.|| "The most ancient monuments of German law," says Gosselin, "establish, or clearly suppose the special dependance of the emperor on the pope."§ He refers to the Saxon and Suabian codes, and alludes to the custom, to which even Frederick Barbarossa acceded, of the emperor acting at the coronation as the Pope's esquire.¶

And nearly, moreover, all Italy originally and by right belonged to the Holy See, as is shown clearly by Döllinger.\*\* So that the aggressions and occupations could

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\* Gosselin, v. ii. p. 323. † Ib. p. 283. ‡ Ib. 284.

|| 285.

§ 287.

¶ 288.

\*\* Hist. Church Vindicated, by Dr. Cox, v. iii., pp. 114, 138, 150.

scarcely be upon the side of the Holy See, but of irreligious and avaricious princes. This in fact is the account given with perfect truth by these great Catholic historians, and by others as great—but Protestant. Gosselin says that, 'the sovereigns against whom the Holy See struggled with in the Middle Ages, "were princes guilty of excesses the most notorious, and most baneful to the interests of religion and of nations,—they were adulterous, simoniacal, purjured, abettors of heresy and schism, and *oppressors* of their subjects.'" This is the character (he adds) unanimously given by all historians of the emperor Henry IV., deposed by Gregory VII., of the emperor Frederick II., deposed by Innocent IV.\* And then he goes on to say, (a statement very material for our present argument), "consider in particular the character of Henry IV., such as it has been drawn from the pages of contemporary historians by modern writers, least liable to the suspicion of partiality to the Holy See. He was even in his eighteenth year one of the most profligate characters. He had two or three concubines at the same time, and whenever he heard of any beautiful young woman, married or unmarried, if he could not seduce her he had her carried off by violence. These crimes involved him in many murders, to make away with the husbands of the women whom he coveted. He became cruel even to his most trusted associates. He gave bishoprics to those who gave him most money, and who knew best how to further his vices, and after having thus sold a bishopric, if another person offered him more money, or was more lavish in flattering his crimes, he ordered the former bishop to be deposed for simony, and appointed the second in his place, whence it happened that many cities had two bishops at the same time, and both unworthy."†

And again, "if we trace back to their source the troubles of the empire under Henry IV., we shall find that the original cause of these troubles was the unprecedented conduct and sacrilege of that prince, who persisted in the most scandalous disorders, and shamelessly trampled on the rights of the Church, making himself sovereign arbiter of ecclesiastical dignities within his dominions."‡ Dr.

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\* V. ii. p. 335.

† Ib. 336.

‡ Ib. 339.

Döllinger gives a similar account, and speaking of Pope Alexander II., says, "the last important step taken by Alexander, the full consequences of which devolved upon his more daring successor, was his excommunication of those counsellors of Henry, who had sold ecclesiastical dignities.\* And elsewhere he says, "A most baneful influence was exercised by Adalbert, Archbishop of Bremen, who had won the favour of the young king. This vain, ambitious, and at the same time, avaricious and prodigal prelate, who wished to erect for himself a patriarchate in the north, and who had before disposed of bishoprics according to his caprice,—united himself with another favourite of the king, and carried on with him a shameless commerce in bishoprics and abbeys. The unworthy bishops who had intruded themselves into the different sees, carried their ideas further in the practice of that simony by which they had obtained their Churches. In 1090 Pope Alexander II. employed against them the bitter reproach that they gave ordination for money. Thus a multitude of rude, ignorant, conscienceless men, found their way into the ranks of the German clergy, working on their state as a trade, and the bishops engaged in worldly affairs and projects of aggrandizement, either deficient themselves in moral virtue, or too timid to engage in a laborious contest, suffered the evil to continue."† Who appointed those bishops? Not the Holy See, but the Crown. It was on the very question of the influence of the Crown, on their appointment, that Gregory VII. waged his great contest with the emperor. Who was responsible for these abuses! The Holy See? No, but the Crown. The Holy See was continually protesting against them, and reproaching the profligate princes, and their parasites, the unworthy prelates whom they appointed. Yet such is the perversity of prejudice that Gregory is popularly called ambitious, and proud, for seeking to prevent these shameless prostitutions of ecclesiastical dignities, and the Popes are, by the same writers, accused of permitting them! How could the Pontiffs be responsible for abuses they had not the power to prevent? "The history of succeeding ages," says

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\* Hist. Ch. v. iii. p. 152.

† p. 229.



Gosselin, "proves that the contest of the Popes with the Emperors, and the evils resulting from them were occasioned in the commencement of the conquest, and often schismatical pretensions of the emperor. And he cites the Count de Maistre, who states as to Frederick II., that Innocent IV. ended most justly by solemnly deposing the emperor, (at the council of Lyons) in 1245, for the crimes of perjury, sacrilege, heresy, and felony, juridically proved and admitted in the council."\* Gosselin goes on to say, "It was for the contests between Frederick II. and Popes Gregory IX. and Innocent IV. that arose in Italy the two parties, the Guelphs and Ghibellines, who caused so much trouble and disorder in the country during two centuries."† This brings us near to the era of the Reformation, and when the historian shows religion had nothing to do with the contests, he falls upon the very truth, which it is our object in this article to establish.

Religion had nothing to do with the Reformation. The Reformation was not the result of religious, but of irreligious feelings. It was a continuance of a revolt against right, against justice, and against religion, which had raged for centuries, and had its origin in the corruptions, not of the Papacy, but of the princes who oppressed it,—the corruptions of human nature, on which the Church had to wage war. In that war her weapons, which were spiritual, only had force so long as the faith of the people lasted; when the evil influences of princes had, by corrupting the episcopate and thus depraving the clergy, sapped that faith, the sword of the Church lost its power, and the abuses it could not suppress enslaved her, took an established form in the Reformation, which was, therefore, not a reaction from abuses, or a restoration of religion, but the installation of rebellion, and the final triumph of abuses against which the Holy See had long struggled. The Reformation only established as principles the iniquities of Henry IV.

Ranke expresses the proposition we have been establishing, "a participation in ecclesiastical revenues, and the right of promotion to Church benefices and offices, was that which the civil power now especially desired."‡ The

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\* Gosselin, v. ii. p. 342.

† Ib. 342.

‡ v. i. p. 31.



history of Germany, or of any other country, shows this, and shows that the object of heresy was to escape the moral control of the Church, by pandering to this propensity in the civil power. Confining ourselves on this occasion to Germany, we could prove our case from Protestant historians. Thus, glancing at the pages of a modern writer, we find him stating that, in 1273, Ottocar of Bohemia, a rebel against the Holy See, rejected with disdain all the proposals of accommodation made by the judicious and conciliating Pontiff, (Gregory X.) "but prevented the clergy of Bohemia from contributing the tenths of their revenues."\* Passing on to a generation later, we find him speaking of the deplorable situation to which Bohemia was reduced by the dreadful oppressions of the Regent Otho of Brandenburg, (who seems to have thus early afforded an illustration of the predatory propensities of his house). "After transporting into his own territories all the treasures of the Church,"....."he placed the administration in the hands of the Bishop of Brandenburg, who, if possible, surpassed the Regent in exactions, cruelty, and extortion."† Under it there arose those dissensions between Bohemia and Austria, which had a great influence on the development of the schism of Huss and Jerome of Prague. Albert, says the Protestant historian, was of a despotic and encroaching spirit, and he does not seem to have observed that this may have had to do with the contest in which he was engaged with Pope Boniface VIII. in 1300. We find the emperor in that contest early securing the neutrality of the Margrave of Brandenburg and the Elector of Saxony,—two of the German princes, who have always been found, from political reasons, rebellious against the Holy See, and who, with the instinct of rapacity, foresaw, what their successors found, their greatest opportunities of aggrandizement in the war to which the Reformation was certain to give rise.

The brutality of Philip the Fair relieved Albert from Boniface, but, by an exemplary retribution "his encroaching spirit," to use the Protestant historian's phrase, soon caused him the loss of Bohemia. Nor was it long ere the Holy See was fearfully avenged on the House of Austria

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\* Hist. House of Austria, v. i. p. 24.

† Ib. 51.

by the Swiss. The schism of Huss was successful chiefly by reason of the jealousy of a weak and wicked Bohemian sovereign, towards the Catholic House of Hapsburg, which, in Albert V., found a worthy representative. In the words of the same Protestant historian we will state the story: "Under the mild dominion of Charles IV., Bohemia enjoyed a long period of peace and tranquillity, had greatly increased in riches, splendour, and territory, and the natives were rapidly advancing in learning and civilization. After the foundation of a university Prague became the abode of learning and science." All this was the result, let it be observed, of the Catholic religion, under the Supremacy of the Holy See. "But during the reign of Wenceslaus, Bohemia rapidly declined, and the nobles broke out into sedition. The inactive and careless monarch, addicted to wine and pleasure, was of a character ill calculated to repress these disorders." "Under these circumstances a dispute, which, under the reign of a more able monarch, would probably have been confined within the walls of a University, gave rise to those religious feuds which occasioned the Hussite war, and rendered *Bohemia for many years a scene of rapine and carnage.*" "In consequence of the long schism in the Papacy," (originated by wicked princes, such as Philip the Fair,) "the arrogant exactions of the Pontiffs," whose "exactions," as we have shown, were exactions of their rights, "and the licentious conduct of the clergy," entirely owing, as we have also shown, to the corruptions introduced by wicked princes, such as Wenceslaus, "several learned men began to embrace and propagate opinions hostile to the principles and pretences of the Roman See."\*

"Among these, John Huss, a member of the University of Prague and confessor to Queen Sophia, the wife of Wenceslaus, strenuously asserted the principles of Wickliffe, the English reformer, and levelled his attack against the pretensions of the Pope, particularly *against the sale of indulgences*, issued by Boniface VIII." We pause here to remark upon the great adroitness shewn by these heretics on the choice of their *cheval de bataille*. Huss herein imitated Wickliffe, and Luther, as we shall see, followed Huss. All, then, took care to commence

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\* Coxe, v. i. p. 149.

their attacks against the Holy See upon *matters of money*: and while they well knew they would have the sympathy and support of the *sovereigns* who were always seeking to aggrandize themselves at the expense of the Church. We have in a former article shown how this was in the case of Wickliffe. We see now it was in the instance of Huss. We shall afterwards see it exactly the case with Luther. All of them showing therein that, indeed, without being "harmless as doves," they were certainly "cunning as serpents." They appealed to the sordid and the selfish elements in human nature. And they were amply responded to. Lust disliked restraint, avarice yearned to gratify its rapacity. Both alike revolted from a system of compensation, by which works of charity might reap some benefit to the poor, from deeds of sensuality or of blood. Sinners loved to hear of a barren penitence; and Sovereigns liked to be told of earthly treasures which might be seized, rather than of heavenly treasures which might be won.

No wonder, then, that Wenceslaus, "the weak, mean, and wicked prince," as he is described by the Protestant historian, "encouraged Huss;" it was hardly necessary to add that he did "so from resentment against Boniface," whose "intrigues" (had Mr. Coxe been writing of intrigues *against the Papacy*, he would have used the word which would have been more fair and proper here—*influence*) "had contributed to precipitate him from the imperial throne"—a precipitation which it appears he abundantly deserved. Nor is it wonderful that, as Mr. Coxe goes on to state, "Even Sigismund himself did not disapprove the opposition raised to the sale of indulgences."\* Of course he did not; not being a *very* religiously minded man, and more keenly alive to the value of money than of piety; such sovereigns could scarcely disapprove of an opposition to a system under which the piety and charity of the faithful often poured into the Treasury of Rome sums which they would much rather have seen within their *own*. Owing to the encouragement thus given to the Hussite heresy by Wenceslaus and Sigismund, it spread so far and so fast that even the death of Huss did not eradicate it; and then Wenceslaus, from the same despicable reasons as before, encouraged Ziska, who in 1419 commenced his career by a savage shedding of blood; and

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\* Coxe, v. i. p. 149.

under whose savage aspirations, Mr. Coxe truly states, the Hussites gave way to frantic enthusiasm, broke into the churches, overturned the altars and burned convents, whilst the whole country was desolated by religious warfare.\*

Under the auspices of the Holy See something like a reconciliation was effected, but the influence of one whom Mr. Coxe justly calls an "abandoned woman"—the Empress Barbara—"who believed neither God, angel, nor devil," the Hussite heresy was revived before the death of Sigismund. She used the power of the heretics for the purpose of acquiring the succession to the Empire; and on the accession of Albert to that dignity, though the Bohemian Catholics accepted him, the Hussites resisted him, and he had to win the crown by arms. And his death plunged Germany into anarchy. This was within half a century of the birth of Luther. And such were the fruits of schism, which heralded his appearance. Too little importance has been attached, we think, to these antecedents. The annals of a nation are reckoned not by years but by generations, and a century is nothing in its history. But the interval of time between Huss and Luther, hardly exceeded the life of a man. And the first was more than the precursor of the other. He was his teacher, his exemplar in the fatal work of disturbing a nation by pandering to its evil passions and those of its sovereigns. The task was too easy, and scarcely required a precursor to suggest it. Indeed even in the means employed, as we shall see, there was no originality in Luther. He followed his exemplar in means as well as in aims. He raised a rebellion against the Church under the mask of religion, and he did so—as Huss did—simply by setting forth a system relieved of all that made religion irksome to bad men; in short, by constructing a religion of licentiousness, he acquired the suffrages of the licentious and irreligious, which, alas! included most of the rulers and a great part of the ruled.

Now, during this period, what had been the character of the Papacy? "In 1417, the Council of Constance, (says Mr. Coxe,) had closed the schism, and had given to the Christian world a Pope, Martin V., to whom the Church

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\* *Ib.* 153-4.

was indebted for union, Italy for tranquillity, and Rome for union. During a reign of sixteen years, his moderation, prudence, and vigour, maintained the Church in peace and unity; he even agreed to the reformation of several corruptions; he consented to the abolition of annates, the fees paid for palliums and provisors, and other similar exactions." It is gratifying to be informed by a Protestant historian that a Pope could "*even agree*" to "the reformation of corruptions," and still more gratifying to find that the "corruptions" complained of in those days were so comparatively unimportant, at all events to the Church, as "annates" and "fees paid for palliums, and provisors"—all, in fact, of a purely *pecuniary* nature, and not affecting doctrine or discipline. But though comparatively unimportant to the Church, they were not so to the princes of those days. To repeat the passage we have already cited from Ranke, it was mainly about these very matters that they were most anxious, matters relating to money or patronage. It mattered not to them that if the annual contributions of archiepiscopal or other sees to the Holy See were discontinued, the Holy See would be impoverished and unable to maintain its magnificent position as the centre of the Christian world with its due and its accustomed hospitality, liberality, and magnanimity. That the princes cared nothing for; they desired rather to amass all possible treasures for the purposes of luxury and sensuality, and they felt, whenever money went to Rome, the pangs of avaricious jealousy and sordid envy. It was so in Germany, as it was in France and England. The sovereigns of England had passed their statutes "of provisors of benefices," for the purpose of keeping all the benefices to themselves, and perverting their patronage to the base ends of avarice. And half a century or so later, when Henry VIII. of England became inspired with a desire for the supremacy, it was indicated by measures for the abolition of "annates and fees paid for palliums;" and his spirit was precisely that of Henry IV. of Germany, that of rapacious covetousness for the property of the Church. When Nicholas V. resumed the "annates" and fees for palliums, and retained the right of alternate presentations to benefices, (although in other respects he showed every anxiety to reform,) the "concordates" he consented to "disappointed," (says Mr. Coxe,) "the hopes of those princes who were anxious to reform the abuses of the Church," i. e., to seize her pro-

perty and confiscate her just rights. For that these were the "abuses" they desired to "reform" is plain enough. It will be difficult to discover any trace of complaints of "abuses" *against the Holy See*, except such as resolved themselves into an unwillingness to pay ancient and accustomed dues; complaints, too, made chiefly by the sovereigns who desired to receive them into their own coffers. The burden of the preambles of the statutes passed in this country during the same period was the same: that money went to Rome. While whatever abuses really existed, arose, as we have shown, from the influence of the princes themselves, and were such, therefore, as they by no means desired to see redressed. Therefore it was that the "reformers" they favoured applied themselves primarily not to these the *real* abuses, but to the "abuses" which the princes disliked, appealing to their pride and their avarice against obedience or contributions to Rome. Hence the Hussites obtained the patronage of Wenceslaus, and the connivance of Sigismund. Hence Albert "wisely," as Mr. Coxe considers, held himself neutral between the Pope and the Anti-pope, the true council and the schismatical, (the weaker the Papacy was, the better for these selfish princes,) and on the same principle, as we shall see, Maximilian favoured Luther, and Charles V. connived at his heresy.

Before coming to the career of Luther, let us take a rapid glance at the political aspect of the age and its religious condition. *Politically*, as in the age of Huss, the fortunes of heresy depended very much on the enmity between Bohemia and Austria:—in the age of Luther they depended greatly on the rivalry between Austria and France. "Before 1447," as Mr. Coxe truly points out, "France and the house of Austria had no subject of rivalry or jealousy, but the marriage of Maximilian with the heiress of Burgundy entailed on the two powers an hereditary enmity, which deluged Europe with blood for more than three centuries."\* And this enmity was at its height at the very time when Luther arose. Ranke points out another element in his political importance, and observes upon it thus. "Throughout the whole period of time that we are contemplating, there was no assistance so

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\* Coxe i. p. 279.



much desired by the temporal sovereigns in their disputes with the Popes, as that of a *spiritual* opposition to their decrees. Charles VIII. of France had no more efficient ally against Alexander VI. than the Dominican Savonarola. But when had the Pope so bold an opponent as Luther? The mere fact that so fearless a foe to the popedom had made his appearance, imparted to the person of the reformer a *decided political importance*. It was thus that Maximilian considered it; nor would he permit injury of any kind to be offered to the monk; he caused him to be specially recommended to the Elector of Saxony; 'there might come a time when he would be needed'; and from that moment the influence of Luther increased day by day."\* Here is the true history of the "Reformation." Luther was 'needed,' in the general contest of kings against the Holy See, (in which contest we have proved, upon Protestant authority, the Popes were always in the right,) and especially he was 'needed' in the contest between France and Austria.

So much for the political aspect of affairs: what was the state of religion? Partly we have shown already. For instance, the rapid progress of Bohemia under Catholic teaching, prior to the outbreak of the Hussite heresy, is eloquent as to the real results of the religion which we have lately learnt tends to "stifle the reason and enslave the soul." The universities, from Paris to Prague, the schools of Padua or Oxford, Bologna or Auxerre, had all owed their origin to the Catholic Church. The monasteries had been nurseries of all learning, sacred and profane. In Germany Ranke ascribes the revival of classic learning to the monks. "It was one of this brotherhood; the profound and blameless mystic Thomas à Kempis, from whose school proceeded those earnest and venerable men who, first drawn to Italy by the light of ancient learning newly kindled there, afterwards returned to pour its beneficent influence over the breadth of Germany."† Boccaccio and Dante had used the learning they acquired in the bosom of the Church to do their utmost by ridicule or railing, to rend her robe of unity by weakening the hold on nations of the Apostolic See. And Erasmus and Luther were about in different ways and degrees to act the

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\* Ranke i. p. 65.

† Ranke v. i. 57.

same unfilial and ungrateful part; to labour, by derision and denunciation, to undermine the faith of others in the religion which had given them all that was good in them. After all, the best testimony in favour of the *intellectual* wealth of the Church, were the men who did so much to ruin her influence among mankind. Intellectually they were great, but they owed their greatness to her, and gained all that knowledge from her which they afterwards turned against her.

Audin, in the appendix to his work, gives a sketch of the labours of the monks in Germany during the Middle Ages, prior to the eleventh century. And thus he proceeds. "After that time, until the revival of letters, different schools arose in the theological world. Scholasticism soon had its reign, and this rendered essential service to the human intellect." Among its great apostles he mentions St. Thomas. That great name, which sheds such a glory over Germany in the thirteenth century, was but the symbol of the spirit and system of the Church, in which faith and philosophy, reason and devotion, were beautifully harmonized. And even if we were to admit with Audin, that "the light which the monasteries had first caused to shine, was for a short while obscured, especially towards the end of the fourteenth century," and that a "reform was necessary;" the restoration was effected by a monk; that monk was Trithemius, and the Appendix gives a deeply interesting account of his career, one of the most valuable portions of the book, for it is an illustration, far more effectual than any force of reasoning, to show the actual state and spirit of the Church at the very time that Luther arose. For it was almost at the very date of Luther's birth that Trithemius entered on his monastic life. His maxim was, "Knowledge is love." How beautiful the contrast to the proud axiom which Protestantism has adopted, "Knowledge is power." The whole difference between Catholicism and Protestantism is in the distinction between the two expressions. "*The more we love,*" said the monk, explaining his proposition, "*the more we know.*" "The Bible is the source of all learning." He said not that it was the source of all religious teaching, or the rule of faith. "Labour constantly to *relish* the Scriptures." "The devils have knowledge, but as they have not love their knowledge is useless and unprofitable." What a contrast to the spirit of Luther—



proud, restless, disputatious. It seems as if Divine Providence has roused up the monk of Spanheim as a practical confutation of the monk of Wittenberg; just as the Saint of Loyola was shortly afterwards raised up to counteract the new heresy; whose principle, in exact accordance with that of Trithemius, and in equal antagonism to the fatal error of the age, was, "non enim abundantia scientiæ sed sensus et gustus rerum interior desiderium animæ replere solet." Trithemius was not more remarkable for devotion than for erudition, "and his works," says Audin, "equally show his love for his brethren, his enthusiasm for the Chair of St. Peter, and his devotion to literature." "In 1516," he adds, "this great light of the Middle Ages was extinguished. But his labours were not lost; the reformation worked by Trithemius at Spanheim was *introduced into most of the monasteries of Germany.*" Julius II., be it observed, warmly commended the pious monk, and held him up to imitation. "Thus the monasteries originated," says Audin, "an intellectual movement. And at the same time the taste for *sacred studies*, which Trithemius recommended so earnestly revived; the book of the Gospels was adorned with engravings; the Passion of the God-Man was illustrated by engravings; the Songs of the Prophet-King were commented on in a popular language; the ineffable charms of Bible-morality were celebrated; the teaching of the Lord's Prayer was expounded." Rome at the same time spoke by the voice of the Council of Lateran, which was dissolved in 1517. "She desired," says Audin, "reformation; Luther a *rebellion.*"

Writers on the Reformation on the one hand deal in vague declamation about "abuses" in the church, without considering of what nature they were, or whence they arose, or by whom they were perpetuated; and on the other hand appear to ignore or not at all to consider the repeated efforts of the Holy See to redress them; when it is considered that the corrupt ecclesiastics whose misconduct brought scandal upon the church were forced upon her by the princes who prostituted their patronage, and who oppressed the Holy See for purposes of sordid rapacity, and that the Holy See through many successive generations, up to the end of the Reformation, vainly endeavoured to wrestle against the overwhelming evil, all its endeavours being rendered useless by this corrupt perversion of patronage, and by the constant efforts of the

emperors to enslave it and destroy its independence—it is really flagrant injustice, and a reckless disregard of historical truth, to affect to cast on the Holy See the responsibility of the “abuses” which are alleged as excusing or justifying the fatal schism of the Reformation. Such Pontiffs as the learned and pious Benedict XII. (1335) were zealous and energetic pastors of the Church, ages before heresy assumed the specious mask of “reformation.” Innocent VI. laboured hard to reform the abuses in the Church (1353), and denounced especially non-residence and luxury among the prelates and by her clergy, abuses notoriously arising from the corrupt use of patronage by princes, and prevailing most among those ecclesiastics who were their parasites. Urban VI. (1366), published a bull ordering provincial councils to reform abuses in their respective churches, and a few years after (1370), Gregory XI. published a similar Bull. What could be more significant as to the true seat and source of the corruptions which prevailed in the Church? They did not emanate from the Holy See, they were seated in the provincial churches, and arose from the local prostitution of patronage by the princes. Hence the Pontiffs repeatedly called on the *provincial councils* to remedy them, by canons devoted to that object, and adapted to the special ministrations of each national church. But the Pontiffs appealed in vain to a prelacy and a clergy too much under the influence of princes, to care for the successor of St. Peter. And instead of redressing the abuses which really existed, they rather joined with the princes, their patrons, in stigmatizing as “abuses” the ancient and accustomed dues, which the Holy See had from the first establishment of the Church received, as tributes from the piety and charity of the faithful to the Apostolic Chair. That same spirit of avarice which led them to be the tools of princes in a vile traffic of Church patronage, led them to treat their benefices as stock-in-trade, and to grudge to the See of Rome any contributions from their enormous ecclesiastical property, which men of old had, by the teaching of that See, been led to dedicate to the Church; which they held in trust for Church purposes, and on which the Apostolic See had a high and sacred claim. These sordid ecclesiastics, jealous of any contributions to the Holy See, were ready enough to yield with a lavish subserviency to the impious exactions of princes their patrons. Even the

Council of Basle (1433) found it necessary to lay it down that ecclesiastics ought to administer Church property faithfully, but that their possessions could not be seized without sacrilege by the lay power. Before passing from this subject it is important to draw attention to a fact which Audin incidentally alludes to, and which is pregnant with significance as to the real motives of the chief promoter of the movement of Luther, that the Elector of Saxony had a quarrel with the Holy See, and Albert, Archbishop of Mayence, on account of the refusal to admit a bastard son of the Elector to an ecclesiastical dignity. Thus, not merely in its remote, but in its immediate antecedents, the Lutheran movement is identified with the main source of the abuses, while it affected to be directed against, the perversion of Church patronage by princes.

"The cloister," says Audin, "was the holy ark which brought together in the great shipwreck of literature, the inspired writings: to the monk we are indebted for the first translation of the Bible into the German language:—Ottfred of Wertsenburg, in the tenth century, versified the Old Testament and the Psalms; Rabanus Maurus and Walfred had translated the whole Scriptures: and in the fifteenth century at Augsburg and Nuremberg, versions of the Bible were published by those very monks whom the Reformers reviled so cruelly. It was they who gave to the world Erasmus and Reuchlin."\* And we will add, Luther. "His most pleasant hours were spent in the library of the Augustinians at Erfurt.† Printing had been discovered, be it remembered, and at Mayence and Cologne the sacred books were published in every form and size. The monastery had Latin versions, and Luther then learnt to "read his Bible." He was not always ungrateful to the monks and schoolmen, and somewhere speaks of Peter Lombard as entitled to the esteem and gratitude of mankind. But, alas, he soon learnt ingratitude, and abused his instructors and benefactors as "ignorant." Nor was the intellectual enlightenment of the nation inferior to their scriptural and theological instruction, and their material progress was equal to their

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\* Life of Luther, vol. i. 12.

† Ib. 7.

moral. In the eloquent language of Balmez, under the influence of Catholicism, Europe everywhere displayed extreme activity ; a spirit of enterprise was developed in all hearts ; the hour had come when the nations of Europe were about to see open before them a new horizon of power and grandeur, the limits whereof were invisible to the eye. Magellan discovered the strait which united the east and west, and Sebastian—returning to the Spanish coast after having made the tour of the world—seemed to be the sublime impersonation of European civilization taking possession of the universe.” “The development of the mind kept pace with the increase of power. Erasmus examined all the sources of knowledge, astonished the world by his talents and his learning, and spread his fame in triumph from one end of Europe to the other.

“The distinguished Spaniard, Louis Vives, rivalled the *savant* of Rotterdam, and undertook nothing less than to regenerate the sciences, and give a new direction to the human mind. In Italy the schools of philosophy were in a state of fermentation, and they seized with avidity the new lights brought from Constantinople. In the same country the genius of Dante and Petrarch was continued in their illustrious successors ; the land of Tasso resounded with his accents, like the nightingale announcing the coming of the dawn, while Spain, intoxicated with her triumphs and transported with pride at the sight of her conquests, sang like a soldier who after victory reposes on a heap of trophies.”

“But the voice of the Apostate who was about to cast discord into the bosom of paternal nations, already resounded in the heart of Germany.”\* His life before his apostacy testifies to the truth of the religion he afterwards laboured to destroy. In the monastery he had full scope alike for piety and study, and if his studies were excessive, and his piety morbid, it is plain it was not the fault of the monks. He was an embodiment of pride and self-will. His superiors aware of this, sought to test his vocation by humiliating exercises ; he complained, and the university interfered, as did Staupitz his friend and confessor, who feared he would sink under the trial.† Would that he

\* Protestantism and Catholicism, translated by Hanford and Kershaw, p. 214.

† Audin, 15.

had been rejected. He and Europe would have been probably saved from his heresy. It shows how fatal an error it is to allow false indulgence to dispense with due tests of a vocation. Too late, his confessor found out his sad mistake. Luther carried to an injurious extent his austerities, his pride encouraging that puritanical spirit of gloom which arises from the absence of a humble reliance on Divine mercy and the merits of our Lord. Staupitz said, "*God does not wish all this from you.*"\* What he wanted was humility, and that was what Luther had not. Hence he fell. "By pride fell the angels."

Before he fell he visited Rome. Two things must be borne in mind in regard to what he afterwards wrote as to his impressions in Italy. First, it can be of little consequence what he wrote on that subject after he had fallen, as his representations can scarcely be relied on as to what had been his impressions at the time. Secondly, even as to his sincere impressions, supposing they could be arrived at as they are of the less consequence, by reason of the prejudices with which a German in that time must have visited Italy. M. Audin says, "had the patriotic prayers of Luther been heard, Maximilian would have reigned at Rome," and Bologna, Urbino, Parma, and Piacenze would have been the four jewels of his emperor's "crown." Prejudice blinded him. He did not understand Julius II., ignorant that his sword had saved the existence of Italy as a nation, and that without that sword, which Julius had the right to wield as a temporal prince, Rome perhaps would have fallen into the hands of the doge of Venice or the French monarch.† Audin well describes the reason for which Luther could feel no sympathy with Rome,‡ summing up in this pregnant sentence, "Because Rome is not made according to his ideas he condemns Rome." There is the spirit of heresy, which was latent within him. The pride which lurked in his soul had led him to bring religion down to the low level of his own soul, rather than to seek to raise her by the ennobling inspiration of Catholicism. How low the level of his mind was, Audin well expresses: "Of all the wonders which Rome displayed in the time of Julius II., he saw nothing. No gleam from the crown of Perugino or Michael Angelo

\* Ib. 17.

† Audin, 29.

‡ Ib. 30.

dazzled his eyes; he remained cold and dumb before all the treasures of painting and sculpture collected in the Churches, his ear was closed to the strains of Dante which the people sung in the streets."\* And instead of being enchanted with the noble fabric of St. Peter, he grumbled at its cost! Little could Luther appreciate the character of a great Pontiff like Julius II., who had been engaged in a deadly struggle for the purpose of liberating Italy, and of whom Roscoe says, "His vigorous and active mind corresponded with the restless temper of the times, his ambition was not the passion of a grovelling mind, nor were the advantages he sought of a temporary or personal nature. To establish the authority of the Holy See throughout Europe, to recover the dominions of the Church, to expel all foreign powers from Italy, and to restore that country to the dominion of its native princes, were the vast objects of his comprehensive mind. And these objects he lived in a great degree to accomplish."† Of course he did not accomplish them without incurring the hatred of the foreign princes whom he had expelled out of Italy, and among others, the Emperor. And Ginciciardini, an hereditary dignitary of the Empire, and an admirer of Charles V., whose troops sacked Rome, has done his best (or his worst) to give the great Pontiff an immortality of infamy. Even *Protestant* writers, however, as in the case of Roscoe, have done, in a great degree, justice to his memory. At the time, however, one may conceive with what sentiments a proud, coarse-minded German, would regard such a Pontiff. And in the very year in which Luther visited Italy, 1510, the Emperor and the King of France were both under his anathemas for their unrighteous conduct towards the Holy See.‡ And Louis XII., disposed to play the part of Charles VIII. in Italy, proposed to Maximilian the convocation of a council to depose the Pope, and both were in that state of mind in which they would eagerly hail another Savonarola.§ In 1511, the schismatical council of Pisa was actually convened by the Emperor.||

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\* Ib. 31.

† Rosc. Life Leo X., p. 291.

‡ Ib. 245.

§ Ib. p. 245.

|| Ib. p. 249.



Describing the state of things at the close of the fifteenth century, the historian of the House of Austria informs us that, "The spiritual power of the Popes had gradually declined, and their authority had lost most of its influence. Germany had in a public diet declared itself independent of the Pope, and even the minor princes of Europe disregarded or despised the thunders of the Vatican. At the same time the dominions of the Roman See were nearly confined to the neighbourhood of Rome, and of those ample possessions which had been granted or confirmed by the Emperors, the principal part had been appropriated by powerful families."\* Maximilian had formed an insane scheme for the conquest of Italy—the darling project of so many successive Emperors from the days of Frederic. The old contest for the possessions of Italy still continued, and it was embittered and embarrassed by the new rivalry of France. The mad expedition of Charles VIII. into Naples, had been imitated both by Maximilian and by Louis; and Julius II., like preceding and subsequent Pontiffs, had hard work to rescue Italy from these unscrupulous invasions. At last Maximilian and Louis united their forces, the Emperor was emboldened to assume an attitude of decided aggression upon the papacy, and in 1510, the very year of Luther's visit to Rome, "revived," says Mr. Coxe, "the ancient disputes between the church and the empire, by laying before the diet a list of the grievances which the German nation had suffered from the exactions and pretensions of the Popes,"† the "exactions" being such as "annates," or first fruits of benefices, and the fees on palliums, etc., and the "pretensions" included indulgences, which were obnoxious to the rapacity of princes, as the means of conveying money out of their dominions.

Such was Luther's supreme Sovereign, an enemy to the Papacy, while his own immediate lord, Frederic, the Elector of Saxony, was friendly to heresy. So that from the one he had nothing to fear and from the other everything to hope, in the event of his entering on the career of a heretic. Such princes were not, of course, likely to be at all careful to preserve in the minds of their subjects any reverence for Rome, or to protect them from the infec-

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\* Hist. House Austria, v. i. 297.

† Ib. p. 356.

tion of heresy. Let it be recollected that for nearly a century the heresy of Huss had been spreading over the empire from Bohemia, and that its spirit of insolent and irreverent scepticism had infused itself into a large portion of the people. The results are described even by Protestant historians: "To Boccacio succeeded," says Roscoe, "several writers whose works considered in other points of view are of little importance, but which contributed to sap the foundations of the Roman power and to weaken, in the minds of the people, the influence and authority of the Holy See." Such was the "*Facetiæ*" of Poggio, of *which upwards of ten editions were printed in the last thirty years of the fifteenth century*. They were also published at Antwerp and Leipsic, an evident proof in that early state of the art of printing, that the work had obtained great celebrity not only in Italy, but throughout the whole extent of Christendom.\* Audin more particularly describes some of the German writers of this scoffing school, of whom we are sorry to say Erasmus was the most illustrious as Hutten was the most infamous. His *Epistolæ Obscurorum Errorum*, justly called by Audin, "that work more filthy than eloquent," is so obscene that even in a learned language some passages of it cannot be transferred to the notes. And this was only a specimen of works, if not so atrocious quite as mischievous; satires which sought to rival "the Praise of Folly;" such as the "Ship of Fools," in which the clergy were held up to ridicule and freely exposed to contempt. Encouraged by the co-operation of the Emperor, Louis revived the pragmatic sanction of Charles VII. which, says the Protestant historian, was like the electoral union in Germany, calculated to diminish the *revenues and patronage* of the Church, and he also obtained from the national (Gallican) council a request to summon a general council at Pisa, for the *ostensible* purpose of reforming ecclesiastical abuses.† Here are the words of the Protestant historian, and it will be observed that they indicate his own sense of the *real* object of Maximilian and Louis, to secure a larger share of the revenues and patronage of the Church under the pretext of reforming ecclesiastical

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\* Life of Leo X. v. ii. p. 85.

† Coxe, v. i. p. 350,



abuses; the only "abuses" having arisen, as we have before shown, from the control exercised by the Crown over the patronage of the Church, and the consequent introduction of corrupt ecclesiastics into her benefices. "Maximilian," continues Mr. Coxe, "warmly concurred in the views of Louis, and proposed in 1510 to introduce a similar pragmatic sanction into Germany. His circular letter to the States breathes a spirit of hostility against the Pope, *scarcely less vehement than the declaration of the early emperors or the writing of the Protestant reformers.*" Here the gravamen of his complaint is, that "enormous sums are *extorted from Germany,*"\* precisely the complaint of Henry VIII. of England and his Parliament, that money went out of the country to Rome. The historian mentions too in the next page another great reason for this especial outbreak of hostility against the Holy See, "that from the preceding negotiations, the Emperor was aware that the *Pope would not allow him an establishment in Italy.*"† To all which it is to be added, that Maximilian himself actually aspired to the Papacy.‡

As we have already observed, it was not enough to allege that abuses existed in order to cast the responsibility of them on Rome. They arose, as we have shown, from the corrupt use of the patronage of the Church by the Crown. And it was part of the policy of the worldly-minded men, who thus corrupted the Church, to throw the odium of the scandals caused by the conduct of their own class upon the Holy See. It was not, however, the Holy See which shrank either from acknowledging the abuses or from attempting to correct them. It was a Cardinal who at the Council of Basle denounced to the Pope the disorders of the German clergy. Julius II. had summoned the fourth Council of Lateran for the purposes of reform, and the labours of that council were most salutary. "For many years," says Audin, "Rome had promised a clerical reformation. That word had no fears for her. She had pronounced it under Nicholas V., Sixtus IV., and Innocent VIII. In the midst of all the storms which threatened at the same time the double sovereignty of the Pope, Julius II. was incessantly occupied with the necessities of

\* Ibid.

† Ib. 359.

‡ See his extraordinary letter, Coxe, v. i. 362, *in notis.*

Christendom. In this he was imitated by his successor. And after the example of Alexander III.," adds Audin, "Leo X. desired that thenceforth none should be raised to the priesthood but men of exemplary conduct after long preparation."\* "The field of the Lord," said the Pope, in 1514, "ought to be thoroughly upturned, in order to produce new fruits."† And to use the French historian's expression, "Leo's zeal made the Lateran ring for the glory of Christendom."‡

Dr. Dollinger in his "Succinct View of the Life and Writings of Luther," states, that "Luther had felt and deplored the abuses in the Church; the incapacity and vice of so many ecclesiastics; the neglected state of the people, and other things: as other intelligent men who were attached to the Church had felt and deplored these things:" and elsewhere he says, speaking of Luther's rise, "It was a spectacle which *reasonably* claimed the attention of all, a contrast which gained for him and his cause the sympathy even of the best disposed persons. On one side stood a whole swarm of prelates, ecclesiastical dignitaries and possessors of benefices, who were richly endowed with earthly goods, passed their lives in supineness, and troubled themselves little about the necessities and decay of the Church." Now this is a view from which we venture to differ, and from which, indeed, although with sincere respect for Dr. Dollinger, we do most earnestly and indignantly dissent. Not only do we differ as to the degree to which his picture of the religious state of Germany is true (a picture not very consistent with the facts we have set forth), but what is far more important, we deprecate the absence of any endeavour on his part to point his readers' attention to this monstrous fact, that the abuses, such as they were, of the German Church, arose from the national Church itself, whereas all Luther's denunciations were directed against the Holy See. It is a flagrant fact, that it was the local exercise of patronage by the princes which gave rise to abuses in the Church: and that the Holy See not only had little if any responsibility for it, but was then and always had been strenuously striving to eradicate those evils, which corrupt use of patronage had

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\* Audin's Life of Luther, v. i. p. 79.

† Ib.

‡ Ib. p. 82.

created. And if indeed there were these "swarms" of prelates, and possessors of benefices richly endowed, and passing their lives in supineness, of whom Dr. Dollinger speaks, surely it would have been well that he should have remembered who presented them to the bishoprics and benefices: and it is the more to be lamented that he should not have remembered this, inasmuch as in his *History of the Church*, he abundantly demonstrates (as our quotations have already shown), to what an extent the crown had exercised its influence over the episcopate ever since the days of Henry IV., and does ample justice to the great Pontiffs who waged with that wicked Emperor and with others, his successors, so stern a struggle upon that very question, knowing how vital it was to the interests of the Church. But the history of the century or two preceding the rise of Luther shows, (and for this very purpose we have adverted to it,) that the authority of the Holy See had now so much declined beneath the encroachments of the secular power, that it was not adequate to the redress of the evils it deplored, and against which Pontiff after Pontiff remonstrated in vain. In the view of Luther, however, which Dr. Dollinger presents, we read nothing of the efforts of Popes to reform the German Church, and in place of that we are told forsooth that Luther felt and deplored its abuses. Why he was a coarse and cunning railer against the Holy See, the only power that had striven to remove them. The truth is, that the origin of those abuses was the interference of the secular power with the affairs of the Church, and that Luther made himself a servile instrument of that power, and so far from feeling or deploring the abuses, did his utmost to perpetuate them and developed them into still greater. The evil was secular influence, and his whole aim was to place the Church under state power. The abuses arose from state patronage, and his remedy was state spoliation. Dr. Dollinger utterly ignores the antecedent facts of history, and the political aspect of the times with respect to the Papacy, and it is only by keeping all these out of sight that he reaches the extraordinary conclusion that Luther "deplored the abuses of the Church, and had the sympathy of well disposed persons!" We shall see who were his sympathizers.

Such were the circumstances under which, in 1516, Leo proclaimed special indulgences, which were to be preached

in Germany ; their produce was to be devoted towards the completion of the Church of St. Peter, which Julius had been unable to finish. It was the cathedral of Christendom, the Seat of St. Peter's successors, and to any but the most sordid minds, had a claim on the charity and generosity of the faithful, which amply justified the appeal to their piety. And if it be said, as it was said by men of sordid minds, that the funds of the Papacy were sufficient for the purpose, the answer is afforded in the facts of antecedent history, to which we have adverted. The funds of the Papacy would have been sufficient had they not been diminished to the utmost possible extent by princely rapacity, and exhausted by the struggles in which the Holy See had been unavoidably involved with the rest of Italy, in defence of its patrimony against unprincipled invaders. For many generations, on the one hand, the Papacy had been systematically deprived of its ancient and accustomed dues, and, on the other hand, Italy had been a scene of warfare, owing to the efforts of the emperors to enslave it, and for a long course of years by the rivalry of France and Germany. And at this very time Albert, the Archbishop of Mayence, owed the Pope some large sums for the usual fee upon the pallium.

At Rome it was the custom of the chancery to dispose in each Catholic state of the right to proclaim and distribute those special indulgences, and Albert was commissioner for all Germany. Probably had he and his suffragans paid those fees which were by ancient usage due to the Holy See, there would have been no necessity for the indulgences. It is of course useless to explain them to Catholic readers, but for the sake of any Protestant readers it may be as well to say that the Catholic faith teaches what they probably would not in theory dispute, that charity is a duty, and that one branch of it is the support of sacred edifices; and that the erection of a cathedral at Rome, at the special instance of the Holy Father, would be a very fitting opportunity for its exercise. Further, that these indulgences, (as to which they may read the authentic documents in the Appendix to Audin's History,) operated simply as applications of this general duty of almsgiving to the special purpose in question, and secured to its exercise that efficacy which the Catholic faith teaches, may be attached to it by the authority of the Church, provided it is exercised after sacramental confes-

sion with true and sincere penitence, and firm faith in the infinite merits of the Redeemer.

Tetzel, who was appointed to preach the Papal indulgences in Germany, was no ignorant monk. He was a theologian of thirty years standing, and was one of the most distinguished lights of his order. Before commencing his labours, he printed an *instruction on the duties of the preacher of indulgences*, and he carefully inculcated the necessity of sincere repentance and sacramental confession, in order to obtain pardon, and give effect to the indulgences. Such, also, was the tenor of the commission published by the archbishop, and which likewise may be seen in the Appendix to the work of Audin. The simple terms of these documents must serve to dissipate a host of vulgar prejudices. "Whoever, *having confessed and being penitent*, shall buy the alms, shall obtain full remission of his sins." It is unnecessary to say that this ever had been, is now, and ever will be, the Catholic faith. And the prevalent notion as to Tetzel's "abuses" is a loose idea, without the least foundation in fact. The misrepresentations of the Dominican teachers, put forth by Luther's disciples, are monstrous and infamous. Had the work of Audin done no more than disclose the truth upon that head it would have done great service.

The difficulty of fixing upon the preaching of the Papal indulgences by Tetzel any abuse, is so great, that there have not been wanting those who have endeavoured to make out a case on the ground of misapplication of the monies procured. Obviously this would either involve an admission of the validity of indulgences, or it would be wholly idle and immaterial. And, be it observed, that Luther, in his propositions, made no such charge of misapplication, which is relinquished by really learned and candid Protestant writers. Thus Roscoe does not controvert that the real motive of soliciting the aid of the Christian world, by the sale of indulgences, was for the purpose named in the brief itself, the completion of the immense fabric of St. Peter, begun on so magnificent a scale by Julius II. Roscoe also candidly admits "that there was not any novelty in the method adopted by Leo of obtaining a temporary aid to the revenues of the Church by the dispensation of indulgences, it being certain that these measures had been resorted to as early as the year 1100, when Urban II. granted a plenary indulgence to all who

should join in the crusades to liberate the sepulchre of Christ from the hands of the infidels."\* We need scarcely say, that according to the usual fallacy of Protestants, the period at which any sacrament, doctrine, or practice is first mentioned in history, is here assigned absurdly enough as the period of its original rise or institution. Still the passage is an admission that for four hundred years these Papal indulgences had been preached in Germany. And Audin points out that the church of All Saints in Wittenberg, (where the Elector of Saxony had founded his new university,) had been visited by the faithful from all parts of Germany ever since 1398, when Pope Boniface granted an indulgence to all who should communicate at its altar. Nor is this all, for Audin adds, that the Elector having exhibited some interest in this Church, Leo X. had, in 1516, conceded, most probably on the solicitation of the prince himself, further indulgences to the faithful who should visit it. Surely, then, facts raise an inference *a priori* that any opposition on the part of this prince, or of any German prince, to the preaching of Papal indulgences, must really have been stimulated by jealousy as to the application of the money. No Catholic need be told that to every plenary indulgence it is a condition that alms shall be given. No objection was entertained to indulgences of which the alms were devoted to *local* objects. The real objection was to indulgences which operated in favour of the Roman treasury.

Well, Tetzel came to Saxony, *and the Elector refused to receive him*. This was Luther's country, and the Elector was his immediate sovereign, and, as we shall see soon, became his protector. Who was emperor we have seen, and he also, we shall see, was prepared to encourage Luther. The Elector gave the monk the hint. And the admirers of Luther can as little claim for him the merit of originality as of courage. He did but echo the voice of his prince, backed by all the power of the empire, and great masses of the people. In the latter end of 1517, Tetzel came to the neighbourhood of Wittenberg, where Luther was. The latter saw his time had come. Remember these were *papal* indulgences which were being preached, and remember the feeling which pervaded

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\* Rosc. Life of Leo X. p. 91.



princes and people of Germany against the Papacy. By attacking the indulgences he knew he should please his prince, the Elector of Saxony; he would *not displease* his sovereign, the emperor; and if he did it in a tone of boldness, and with an air of audacious coarseness, he was certain to please a great part of the people. He had everything to gain, and nothing to fear. If he desired, as we suspect, and the sequel shows, release from monastic vows, this might serve his purpose, like a malefactor would fire his prison in the hope of escaping amidst the conflagration. Anyhow, proud, sensual, restless, he had a good chance of notoriety, princely favour, popular applause, and ambition and the worse passions were certain of gratification. The Diet of Mentz, held in this very year, re-echoed the old complaint of secular princes, that "the wealth of the country found its way to Rome." And "on that hint he spoke." This was the scope of the celebrated "propositions" against the Papal indulgences, which he posted up on the 1st November, 1517, on the doors of the church of All Saints, Wittenberg. Let it be recollected, in passing, that the university of Wittenberg, in which Luther was professor, had been, a few years before, founded by the Elector of Saxony, who had just refused to admit the preachers of the papal indulgences into his electorate. Ranke himself confesses that "*an alliance had been formed between the monk of Wittenberg and the sovereign of Saxony.*"\* And very skilfully were the "propositions" framed to propitiate the secular princes, and pander to the vulgar German prejudices against the Papacy, which for centuries had been fostered by a prelacy too much under the influence of princely patrons, and by a clergy whom they had done so much to corrupt.

"Bishops and clergy have the *same power* in purgatory as the Pope has." "Why does not the Pope, who is richer than Cræsus, *build St. Peters with his own money*, rather than with that of poor Christians?" "Christians should be taught that he who gives to the poor, or assists the needy, *does better* than he who purchases indulgences."† There is consummate art in the adaptation of the "propositions" to the sordid jealousies and peculiar prejudices of each class, the princes or the

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\* Hist. Reform. A.D. 1517.

† Audin v. i. p. 93.

people, the clergy or the laity. And equal art is shown in the steering clear of any *direct* impeachment of the papal supremacy in the doctrine of indulgences, insomuch that Audin quotes a Protestant author, Schräech, who considers that neither of these dogmas was then disbelieved or disputed by Luther.\* If this be so, there never was a *safer* course to pursue, whether he believed these doctrines or not; and, on the latter hypothesis, he could scarcely have pursued a course less sincere, less courageous, or less ingenuous, since the whole tendency of his "propositions" was to bring doctrines into contempt, which if he believed he wanted honesty to adhere to, and if he disbelieved he wanted the courage to impugn. The last "proposition" is, "If indulgences were preached according to the meaning and intention of the Pope, it would be easy to answer these questions;" plainly implying that, according to the intention and meaning of the Pope, the preaching of his indulgences was right enough, but also implying what was absolutely untrue, that the preaching of Tetzel at all varied from the "meaning or intention of the Pope;" that it did not was soon seen, by Luther finding himself logically driven into a total denial of the doctrine of indulgences altogether, which at the outset he thus admitted or implied was, in itself, a sound doctrine. If honest in his *original* declarations, it is not easy to see the honesty of his subsequent contention.

In his reply to one of his antagonists, a venerable and scholar like priest, Luther betrayed the ruffianly spirit which lurked in him, and which rendered him so worthy of the sympathy and support of the robber-princes, whose hereditary policy it was to plunder the Papacy. He denounced Rome as the scarlet Babylon and the synagogue of Satan. He advised the emperor and the princes to hunt down Romanists like his antagonist, with the sword, and desired that he could wash his hands in the blood of cardinals and popes, and the nest of serpents brooding in the Roman Sodom.† Here again there could not be a safer theme

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\* Ib. 95.

† "Si fures furca si latrones gladio si hæreticos igne plectimur cur non magis hos magistros perditionis has cardinales hos papas et totum istam Romanæ Sodomæ colluviem quæ ecclesiam Dei sine fine corrumpet omnibus armis impetrinus et manus nostras in sanguine istorum lavamus." Opera Luther, t. i. p. 60.



of scurrility than the Court of Rome (which like modern heretics, and some catholics, he had learnt doubtless to distinguish from the See of Rome), in an age and in a country bitterly opposed to that court, with all the hatred of the wrongdoer for the wronged—of baffled brigands for their rescued victims. Italy, thanks to the spirit and courage of Pontiffs such as Sixtus and Julius, had now, under Leo, attained something like tranquillity and repose, and the patrimony of the Holy See was protected from the incursions of unchristian invaders. But the princes whose schemes of spoliation had been defeated, hated the Pontiffs who had foiled them; and the brutal revenge which Luther suggested to Maximilian, as Savonarola had suggested to Charles VIII. of France, was one which they would have been happy to enjoy, and did enjoy, when a few years afterwards, the army of Charles V. of Germany sacked Rome, and perpetrated the atrocities which their apostle had suggested. Nor had he to wait so long for the *reception* if not the *realization* of his denunciations. The Protestant historian of the House of Austria has told us, that Maximilian, who was anxious “to reform the abuses and curb the encroachments of the Church,” (we have seen what the Emperor understood by such words,) “far from opposing the first attacks of Luther against indulgences, was pleased with his spirit and acuteness, declared that he deserved protection, and treated his adversaries with contempt and ridicule.”\* To which we will add, repeating words of Ranke which we have already quoted, that the emperor recommended Luther to the Elector of Saxony, saying, that “there might come a time when he would be needed.”† On the other hand, Luther, with that mixture of artifice and truculence which characterized him, repeatedly deprecated any condemnation of his views, until his errors were clearly demonstrated. As that meant that his teaching was to be tolerated, not merely until its errors were in *his judgment* demonstrated, but until he *admitted* that they were so “demonstrated,” the professed readiness to be convinced was a pretence, while at the same time it tended to entrap the defenders of the faith into discussions and

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\* Coxe, vol. i. p. 387.

† Hist. of Popes, vol. i. p. 65.

disputations, in which he well knew the ignorant and the corrupt, the worldly-minded and the interested being judges, he should make the most powerful impression, and his heresy would meanwhile be diffused. Thus, in his rebellion against authority, he would be sure to find adherents, and his revolt from faith protectors. In May, 1518, he wrote to Staupitz and the Bishop, professing respect for the authority of the Church. Even Protestant writers appreciate the shrewdness of this course, while they are sensible to its insincerity. Thus Roscoe writes, "Declarations apparently so just and reasonable, gained him many powerful friends. Even his sovereign and great patron, the Elector of Saxony, seems to have considered this as a decisive proof of the rectitude of his views." In a letter which bears date, August, 1518, he says, "I am informed that he has always been ready to make his appearance before impartial and prudent judges, and to defend his doctrines, and that he owns himself ready on all occasions to submit to and embrace those more correct opinions, which may be taught him on the authority of the Holy See." In the account of Erasmus in which he seems to have suggested to Luther some of the leading points on which he ought more particularly to insist, we find the same sentiment repeated. It is also invariably referred to in the letters of Erasmus. "The papal bulls may have more weight," he says, "but a book filled with arguments derived from the sacred writings, and which pretends to teach only, and not to compel, will always be preferred by men of real learning, for a well-informed mind is easily led by reason, but does not readily submit to authority."\* Here we see the pride of human learning and human reason opposed to infallible authority and faith. Erasmus lived long enough to see the folly and the fallacy of these views. And an intelligent Protestant like Roscoe could perceive and expose their insincerity. Plausible as this conduct may appear on the part of Luther, it must be confessed that its success was much beyond what might reasonably have been expected from it, and that it was, in fact, little more than a veil thrown over the eyes both of his enemies and friends. He only influenced however men who, like

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\* Life of Leo, vol. i. p. 10.

Erasmus, had their faith weakened by pride of human learning; or, like the Elector, had it destroyed by coarser passions of covetousness or lust.

The Elector and the university of Wittenberg which he had founded, had united in entreating of the Pope to dispense with Luther's personal appearance at Rome. Their reasons were obvious and were twofold. They desired not to suppress the heresy, and for the purpose of its diffusion, all that was necessary was discussion,—public discussion,—and perpetual appeal *ad populum*. How thereon could a revolt from authority be conducted? Its essence was an appeal to human pride against the infallible authority of the Church. Hence the policy of Luther was their policy, and the Pope, unsupported by the Emperor, was obliged to yield. Staupitz stipulated for public discussion. The legate reluctantly consented. Next day Luther presented him a written paper, so pregnant with the spirit of rebellion, that the Legate refused to receive it. He sent Staupitz to remonstrate with Luther. Apparently the remonstrances had effect; Luther wrote to the nuncio a letter full of protestations of obedience and reverence for Papal authority. That night he secretly and hastily quitted Augsburg, leaving a public notice that he had always declared that he would submit his opinions to the judgment of the Church and the supreme Pontiff; but that he appealed to the Pope.\* Was there ever a greater combination of tergiversation and insolence; insincerity and truculence? If he was sincere in submission to authority, why not have yielded? If not—why shrink from openly impeaching an authority he would not yield to?

“Both parties might without any extraordinary sagacity have fancied that between an entire obedience to the Roman Church and a direct opposition to them there is no medium. To doubt the supreme authority of the Holy See in matters of faith: to call upon her to defend her doctrines by arguments—to assert those of a contrary tenor—to enforce them not only by reason and Scripture, but by sarcasm and abuse, and proudly to impeach the authority of the Church itself, was to throw off all obedience and to appear in open rebellion.”† The truth is plain, that Luther's was a rebellion against authority disguised

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\* Audin, vol. i. 140.

† Ib. 106.

by hypocrisy: a revolt from faith under the pretence of reason.

One serious and unaccountable error in the work of Audin, is his not noticing the encouragement given by the emperor to Luther: instead of which he actually asserts that Maximilian was the first to inform the Pope of the troubles that menaced Germany!\*. On the contrary, as we have shown, he was the first to encourage the author of those troubles; and in July 1518, at the Diet of Augsburg, which he had summoned not to suppress the rising heresy but for political purposes—he tacitly sanctioned the infamous Hutten in circulating among the members a memorial describing the Pope as a more dangerous enemy to Christendom than the Turks, and charging the Court of Rome with having drained the States of Christendom by annates, reserves, tenths and other exactions.† Still the old story: a jealousy about money. This it was that rendered the Emperor indifferent about *heresy*. It was on August 7, 1518, that Leo cited Luther to Rome: and at the same time he instructed his Legate at the Court of Austria to urge the assistance of the emperor and the princes; and i. Luther should disobey the citation, to confine him at once until further proceeding could be adopted. A similar letter was sent to the Elector of Saxony. They entirely disregarded the remonstrances of the apostolic father. Had they obeyed, the heresy of Luther would have been destroyed, or at least so obstructed in its diffusion, that in a few years it would have died out; and myriads of lives and millions of souls would have been saved. But what cared these selfish sordid princes for souls? What they were anxious about was, to prevent money from going to Rome, and they find Luther an admirable instrument for their purpose. They prefer, as he does, disputation. He is left to this. He is invited to attend before Cardinal Cajetan, the Pope's legate. He declines to do so without a safe conduct! a striking proof alike of consciousness of heresy and of absence of courage. Here was a man ready to set Germany in flames about what he pretended to believe to be

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\* p. 122.

† See Coxe, v. i. p. 379, where however the case is curiously misrepresented.

divine truth, and yet unwilling to take a step out of the dominions of his especial patron—his princely protector—without a safe conduct. The Emperor is ready enough to grant it; Luther attends before the legate, and declaring he would *not* dispute, disputed, professing his reverence for authority, he set it at nought. Why not? he had a safe conduct, and the Emperor encouraged him. His course was clear. Miltitz was one of those candid ecclesiastics who flatter themselves on their skill in conciliation and compromise: he professed to admit that there were “abuses” no doubt, in the preaching of indulgences, and censured Tetzel, whom he summoned before him. What he could have found to censure it is hard to see, as the documents given by Audin clearly show the monk’s preaching was sound and Catholic, and that his practice was inconsistent with it, no one pretends, nor can any difference between it and the present system of indulgences be perceived. When to aid in the building of a Catholic church an indulgence is promised, on the usual conditions, every Catholic knows that, presupposing those conditions, immediately on paying the prescribed alms, the indulgence takes effect, premising, we add, (*ex abundanti cautelo*) the proper disposition. This was all that Tetzel told the people, and this was all that Tetzel did, except that he gave tickets to denote the indulgences, which we conceive could no more affect the substance of the system than could the common practice of giving tickets at confirmation at all affect the administration of the sacrament. The censures upon poor Tetzel were most unmerited. The fact was, that he fell a victim to the coarse and cruel calumnies with which Luther covered him. And, in plain English, this and the censures together killed him. He died in July 1519. *Requiescat in pace*. He was a victim, and almost a martyr. Audin nobly vindicates him. Yet so uneradicable is the taint of that false candour, which is one of the vices of the age, that he permits to escape him, a loose admission about these mere “abuses” in the system of indulgences, after having triumphantly established that there were none;\* that the system was in substance identically the same with our own at the present day. The Pope had

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\* Coxe v. i, 411.

in a Bull solemnly affirmed the doctrine of indulgences, exactly as it had been declared by the commission of the Archbishop of Mayence, and exactly as Tetzel had preached it. Luther had repeatedly declared that he would submit to the Holy See. He did not submit, but continued to dispute. It was not until after an interregnum of nearly six months that Charles V. was elected to the imperial throne, nor was it until nearly a year and a half afterwards (October 1520) he terminated the vicariate of Luther's patron, the Elector, and was crowned Emperor. Mr. Coxe himself states, that from the commencement of his vicarial authority, the Elector evinced such a partiality for the reformer, and his doctrines, as induced (i.e. obliged) the "Pope to suspend all proceedings for eighteen months." He need hardly have added, "During this interval, and under these favourable auspices, the new doctrine gained a wonderful ascendancy." The Protestant historian, however, also adds, what is more important, that the Pope used every effort suggested by moderation and good sense to put a stop to the heresy. His efforts were unaided by the state. Maximilian had written to the Pope a hypocritical letter, dated (August 5, 1518,) so inconsistent with his previous conduct, that its authenticity has been controverted, in which he professes his readiness to take steps to suppress the heresy. But although he lived six months longer, long after receiving the papal letter above referred to, he never caused Luther to be arrested and confined, as the Pope had earnestly desired him to do, in order at once to stop the progress of the heresy, but allowed discussions and disputations to continue, which only tended to fix it and diffuse it in the popular mind. The insincerity of the Emperor could not escape the observation even of a Protestant historian, and Mr. Coxe writes thus, "Notwithstanding the exhortatory letter of Maximilian, he seemed so little interested in the Lutheran controversy, that he dissolved the diet and quitted Augsburg two days before the arrival of the Saxon reformer."\* "At this critical period, (November 1518) before the Papal Bull approving the doctrine of indulgences could reach him, the Emperor died, (Jan. 11, 1519,) and the government devolved on the Elector of Saxony "as head of the empire."† The Elector

\* Coxe i. 391.

† Ib.



was the patron, sovereign, and the protector of Luther, and from that time the arch heretic felt himself safe; the proceedings against him were suspended, and he was left at liberty to prosecute the design he now, if not before, had fully formed, of emancipating himself from monastic restraints by destroying the authority of the Church. Miltitz, canon of Mayence, apostolic nuncio, entreated the Elector to arrest the progress of Luther, but in vain; and then the nuncio tried other discussions with the heretic, of course equally in vain. And as the Protestant historian himself observes, speaking of the discussion with Eck, (June, 1519): "Luther denied all authority except that of Scripture and reason, and urged the right of private judgment on all matters of faith;" and this single point, which, as Mr. Coxe truly says, was *flattering to the audience*, was the leading cause which undermined papal authority. How could it be otherwise? The restraints of authority are always irksome, and Luther proposed a religion which got rid of it.

Upon the accession of Charles, the arch-heretic, with an unparalleled effrontery and hypocrisy, addressed to him a letter, in which he pathetically complained of having been forced in spite of himself into the arena of public disputation, and repeated his old artifice, a promise of submission, when convicted, (that is on his own confession,) of heresy. In 1520 he had published his sermon on the Eucharist, which had been loudly denounced as heretical, and in an insolent letter to Leo X. propounded his heresy of justification by faith. The letter was dated 6th April; but its mixture of insolence and insincerity is so odious, that Protestant writers, and even Luther himself, ashamed of it, have sought to make out the date to have been 6th September, in order to show that it was subsequent to the Bull of excommunication issued by the Pope in June: and to plead that as a provocation. But Roscoe proves by irrefragable evidence that the true date of the letter was the 6th April, and as Audin observes, it is remarkable, that if written after the Bull it should not have alluded to it.\* The Bull was dated 15th June, 1520. The Elector refused to enforce it; and when the Emperor convened the diet of Worms, partly "to concert with the princes of

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\* Page 222.



the empire effectual measures for checking the progress of those *new and dangerous opinions which threatened to disturb the peace of Germany*,"\* such measures were firmly opposed by the Electors of Saxony and Bavaria, and by many of the inferior nobility who had espoused the cause of Luther, and who by their representations as to the extension of the new opinions in Germany, and the number and distinction of their adherents, occasioned great apprehensions among the partisans of the Holy See."† The Diet itself displayed an evident disposition to form an attack on the pretensions and exactions of the Pope, and the states presented a long list of grievances against the Holy See, of which they required the Emperor to obtain redress."‡ The adversaries of the arch-heretic were intimidated by the reports of a league of four hundred German nobles, who were said to be ready to take up arms on his behalf."§ It was not until well aware of all this that Luther had the courage to adhere to his heresy before the diet; indeed at first he declined to do so; and although years had now elapsed, actually required time to deliberate. Reassured as to the support he should receive (he had already obtained a safe conduct), he refused to yield, and though the emperor desired to treat him as a heretic, he had not sufficient influence to do so,|| and the decree only declared him a heretic, and put him under the ban of the empire. How little reason Luther had to fear is apparent from what immediately followed, and which we prefer stating in the words of two Protestant historians: "In the meantime Luther had found a shelter against the approaching storm. As he was passing through a wood on his return to Wittenberg, he was seized upon by several persons *employed by the Elector of Saxony for that purpose*, and carried to the castle of Wurtzburg, where he remained in great privacy during the remainder of the pontificate of Leo X."¶ "Luther had withdrawn from Worms, under a safe conduct for twenty-one days. The Elector of Saxony had devised means to shelter him from the impending storm

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\* 1 Coxe, 410.

† 2 Rosc. Leo X. 222.

‡ 1 Coxe, 416.

§ 2 Rosc. Life of Leo X. 229.

|| 1 Coxe, 418.

¶ 1 Coxe, 231.

without incurring the resentment of the Pope and the Emperor. Luther was seized by a troop of masked horsemen and conveyed to the castle of Wurtburg, where he remained for nine months, unknown even to his guards, and concealed from his friends and followers.”\* “During the interval,” it is added, “he contrived to disseminate several writings, not only in defence of his former doctrines, but still further attacking the principles and ceremonies of the Church of Rome.” This was in direct defiance of the Imperial edict, which forbade the printing or publishing of his heresy. And could the Emperor have been ignorant of it? It is more likely that he *winked* at it; since it has not escaped the penetration of these historians, that “he was unwilling to offend the Elector of Saxony;”† and certainly it is not easy to perceive any indications of sincerity either in the heretic who had pretended reverence for the authority of the Church, until, protected by princes, he could assail it with impunity, or in the Sovereign who, professing zeal for the suppression of heresy, tacitly acquiesced in its diffusion. The heretic had done the work of the empire: the papal authority was extinct in Germany. Now for his reward. It was, emancipation from monastic vows, and especially from that of celibacy. While he was enjoying the luxuries of Wurtburg, his disciples were anticipating his example, and several monks of the monastery of Wittenberg, which had been corrupted for years by his evil influence, violated their vows of chastity. Thus the first fruits of heresy were sins of sensuality; pride and lust illustrated their intimate alliance; and those who had reviled the merciful doctrine of indulgences as leading to vice, lapsed into unlicensed self-indulgence, and let loose their passions. Bucer, after preaching against celibacy, carried off a nun, and Carlstadt married a female whom he had seduced; and Luther, bettered their example, vindicating his superiority by the double atrocity of seducing a nun and then marrying her.‡ Erasmus, who was in Germany at the time when Luther’s preaching against celibacy began to take effect, gives a dreadful picture of the result, in the demoralization of the religious of both

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\* 2 Rosc. Life of Leo. 419.

† 1 Coxe, 416.

‡ Audin, vol. ii. c. 17 c. 18.

sexes.\* Meanwhile to make sure of the continued protection of the secular power, he did his utmost to promote the secularization of the religious orders he had thus debauched; and in some countries of Germany he succeeded.† The lure was too great for rapacious and irreligious princes to resist. "Fortunately for the reformation," we read in the *History of the House of Austria*, "the emperor was prevented from executing the edict of Worms by his absence from Germany, and still more by the war with Francis I., which extended into Italy, and for above eight years involved him in a continued series of contests and negotiations at a distance from Germany."‡ That it was not the absence of Charles from Germany which prevented him from executing the Edict of Worms, and suppressing Luther's heresy, we have already seen from the fact that he did not take proper measures for that object when he was in Germany. And the contests in which he was involved were but the result of that same spirit of territorial aggrandizement, which had for so many ages led succeeding emperors on expeditions of conquest into Italy, and led them to disregard, or even to injure the interests of the Holy See. This spirit it was which now led Charles V. to prefer the prosecution of his warlike enterprises to the extirpation of heresy, and as we shall see, systematically to regard policy, rather than faith. Neither he nor France cared for the Church, and both connived at Protestantism for purposes of policy, until it had risen to a height at which it could no longer be suppressed.

Before Luther had quitted his retreat at Wurtburg, Adrian was called to the Chair of St. Peter. "On a worthier man," writes Ranke, "the choice of the conclave could scarcely have fallen. His reputation was without a blemish; laborious, upright, and pious; of an earnest gravity, yet benevolent withal; full of pure intentions; a true servant to religion."§ In the distribution of benefices "he proceeded with scrupulous conscientiousness."|| Well, had this excellent Pontiff, whom even calumny could not impeach, more success with the princes of the empire, or

\* Sunt rursus qui invident opibus sacerdotum et sunt qui fit sua fortiter profundunt vino scortis et alea ita rapinis alienorum inveniunt. Erasmi. Ep. p. 766, cited in Audin, vol. ii. p. 181, in notes.

† Audin, vol. ii. 181.

‡ Vol. i. p. 421.

§ Hist. Popes, vol. i. 69.

|| Ib. p. 73.

with Luther, than preceding Popes? Not at all. His simple piety was disregarded. In vain he directed a brief to the Diet of Nuremberg (Nov. 1522) severely censuring the princes of the empire for not carrying into execution the edict of Worms: acknowledging at the same time the corruptions of the Church, and promising to do his utmost to remove them. This was not what the princes really required, because, as we have seen, the corruptions of the Church were the result of their abuse of its own patronage, and the only reforms they wished were those which heresy alone could furnish,—freedom from the restraints of religion, and from what they called the “exactions,” i. e., the ancient dues of the Apostolic See—from which heresy afforded the the easiest and speediest relief. They therefore declined to take any steps to suppress the heresy. Under Clement VI., the second Diet of Nuremberg (January 1524) pursued a similar course. Lutheranism was thus virtually sanctioned by the Diet. Luther, who had thrown off his monastic habit, now reduced his heresy into form, and established a new religion in Saxony. The new Elector publicly espoused it, as did Philip of Hesse and the chief of the imperial cities. The result was the association of Ratisbon on the part of the Catholic princes, and the counter-association of the Protestants at Torgan in 1521.

In the meantime Charles in Italy, while making vain protestations of his resolution to suppress Lutheranism, was pursuing the hereditary policy of the Emperors, and pressing forward schemes of aggrandisement, which drove the Pope, for the protection of his independence, to the Holy League. Let us remind our readers of the testimony of the illustrious Protestant writer we referred to at the outset, establishing that the independence of the Popes was essential to prevent the Church from becoming utterly enslaved, and religion from being degraded into a state function. The Emperor was irritated by the Holy League, which stopped his unprincipled aggression, and thus prompted him, writes the historian, “to humble the Holy See, and to promote the progress of the Lutheran doctrines.”\* In a manifesto, published in reply to the apology of the Pope, the Emperor appealed to a general council, following the example of Luther. “This manifesto,” says the his-

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\* 1 Coxe, 430.

torian, "scarcely inferior in virulence to the invectives of Luther himself, being dispersed over Germany, was eagerly read by persons of all ranks: and together with the sack of Rome, (in 1527,) and the capture and imprisonment of the Pope, taught the Germans, by the example of their chief, to treat the papal authority with little reverence, and more than counterbalanced the proscription of the Lutheran doctrines."\* "Thenceforth," wrote Ranke, "Charles was more powerful in Italy than any emperor had been for centuries." He had acted the part of Barbarossa, but with greater success, and realized the despotic aspirations of Henry IV. And now was practically illustrated the truth which Hurter has attested, that the independence of the Papacy is necessary to the freedom and integrity of the Church. When, in 1530, Charles was pleased to profess again his resolution to suppress Protestantism, he proposed to call a general council. Ranke perceives and approves his policy. "In the different complication of their interests with those of the Pontificate, the princes had ever desired to find some spiritual restraint for the Church. Charles might thus assure himself of most zealous allies in a council assembled under existing circumstances. Convened at his instigation, it would be held under his influence, and to him also would revert the execution of its decrees. How decided a preponderance would all this secure to the temporal power, above all to that of Charles himself."† In these words Ranke has vindicated the Papacy, confirming the testimony of Hurter, that the independence of the Holy See was necessary to the purity and safety of the Church. In attesting this, these Protestant writers have especially vindicated those Pontiffs who had immediately preceded the Reformation, and to whose conduct in respect particularly to their temporal position and possessions, Protestant writers are wont to ascribe the Reformation. On the contrary, the Reformation was the temporary triumph of the temporal over the spiritual, with a view to the utter enslavement of the Church, by means primarily of the imperial supremacy. Luther simply put into theory the practice of Barbarossa, and Charles, making Luther his instrument, followed the example of his predecessors, who had sought to trample upon the Holy

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\* *Ib.*† 1 Ranke's *Hist. Popes*, 87.

See. It was not a question of abuses in the Church, but of her enslavement. It was the very power that had produced these abuses which now was rampant, and as Ranke expresses it, the "Emperor was now preferring his claim under pretext of religious discussions, to an amount of preponderance in ecclesiastical affairs, such as no emperor had enjoyed for centuries."\* It was this against which Gregory and Innocent had contended; it was this to prevent which Julius and Sixtus had struggled, and now their sagacity was shown and their policy vindicated by the event.

The Pope durst not call a council, because under imperial predominance it would not at present be free, and for fifteen years the Trentine council was postponed, to escape the domineering influence of the Emperor. Ranke acutely observes, "that the strength of the position to which the Protestants had now attained was this, that the Emperor could have no intention of subjecting them unconditionally to the Pope, because the agitations they occasioned were needful to him for the purpose of keeping the Pontiff in check."† "The Archbishop of Linden represented to the Emperor, that if his majesty would endure that the Lutherans should remain in their errors, he might dispose of all Germany at his will and pleasure."‡ The annals of iniquity exhibit no more shameless instance of depravity than this, of a prelate suggesting to a Catholic sovereign to tolerate heresy as a means of maintaining tyranny! No wonder that there were abuses in the Church; it is easy to see whence they arose. The existence of such men in the Church was in itself the most enormous abuse. And how came they there? Their very antagonism to the Papacy evinces that it was not to the Holy See they owed their elevation. Parasites of the secular princes, they sought to propitiate their patrons, and by their hostility to the Papacy vindicated it at least from any responsibility for the infamy of their own episcopacy. Abuses in the Church! How could abuses be redressed while such men remained? How could they be removed while these corrupt and worldly-minded princes retained their power over the Church patronage, and the temporal trample on the spiritual?

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\* *Ib.* 89.† 1 Ranke (*Hist. Popes.*) 92.‡ *Ib.* 127.



When at the second diet of Spire, (1529) the Lutherans appealed to a future council, they only followed the example of the Emperor, and it was idle in him to affect to be indignant at it. And when next year he assumed to convene a diet at Augsburg, "to consider the differences of opinion on the subject of religion, declaring it his intention to hear both parties, and examine their respective arguments; to correct and reform what required, in his opinion, to be corrected and reformed, that the truth might be known, and harmony re-established;"\*—he was not merely, (to use an expression of Archdeacon Coxe,) "*scarcely less* heretical than Luther himself," but not one whit less so; under this insolent assumption of authority to examine into questions of doctrine and discipline, and not only decide what required to be corrected, but to determine what was theological truth, was the very essence of the Protestant heresy, which consists in setting up secular power against spiritual, private judgment against infallible authority, reason against faith. What mission had Charles, any more than Luther, to declare "the truth?" Indeed, he had not *so much* of mission, for he was a mere layman, whereas Luther was at least a priest. Besides, discussion was just what Luther wanted. When the diet was assembled, Charles himself, as Archdeacon Coxe writes, "clearly saw *the absurdity* as well as the danger of allowing the two parties to discuss intricate questions which could never be decided, and would only tend to increase their discordance."† In convening the diet he had conceded the principle of Lutheranism; and in receiving the "confession of Augsburg," which was its first formal affirmative declaration, he made in reality no further concession, although it was one which virtually recognized the heresy he affected to desire to destroy.

"Thus terminated," writes the Protestant historian, "a transaction which fully unfolded the duplicity of Charles, whose conduct was a series of frauds, dissimulation, and artifice."‡ He published a decree, indeed, by which the doctrines and usages of the Church were to be re-established, and the suppressed convents, and all ecclesiastical property, which had been alienated, were to be restored; but events had shown his indifference and insincerity, and

\* Coxe i. 435.

† Ib. 439.

‡ Ib. 441.



the capricious princes, who had profited by the spoliations which had been perpetrated under pretence of "reformation," resolved to resist restitution and retain their plunders. Before the diet of Spire, Philip, the Landgrave of Hesse, "a prince," remarks Mr. Coxe, "perhaps sincere in his attachment to the new religion, but violent, ambitious, and interested, collected troops, and after alarming all Germany by threats, commenced aggression by invading the territories of the bishops of Wurtzburg and Bamberg."\* As to this great supporter of the heretic it is unnecessary to add anything to this Protestant testimony. Albert, Margrave of Brandenburg, Grand-Master of the Teutonic Order, apostatized, that he might rob the order of the country of Prussia, which he erected into a hereditary principality.† Franz von di Mengen, imitating the example of Philip of Hesse, invaded the archbishopric of Trèves, at the head of a myriad of bandits, and ravaged it with fire and sword.‡ As to Luther's especial patron, the Elector of Saxony, Audin observes that he was an excellent hand at robbing a monastery.

In the pages of Ranke we find irrefragable evidence that the progress of the "Reformation" was merely a progress of pillage and spoliation, of which reformation was only the pretence. Prussia, he says, had given the first example of secularizing the Church property on a grand scale; this was followed by Livonia, in 1561.§ "No convent could maintain itself."|| "The canons in nearly all the bishoprics were either attached to the reformed tenets, or were but lukewarm and indifferent Catholics. What should prevent them from proposing Protestant bishops, should their doing so appear to them advantageous in other respects? It was then that a prince of Brandenburg obtained the archbishopric of Magdeburg,—a prince of Lanenburg that of Bremen, and a prince of Brunswick that of Halberstadt. The bishopric of Lubec also, with those of Verden and Minden, fell into the hands of Protestants, as did the abbey of Quedlenburg. The confiscation of Church property proceeded with proportionate rapacity. How important were the losses sustained, for example, in a very few years by the bishopric of Augsburg! All the convents of Wirtemberg were wrested

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\* Ib. 432. † Audin v. ii. 189. ‡ Ibid. § i. 396. || 401.

from it in 1557. These were followed in 1558 by the convents and parishes of Oettingen. In Nordlingen and Memmengen the convents and parochial benefices were lost.\* Thus Ranke quite confirms the account given by Audin; and does not this confirm our argument, that the Reformation was a secular, not a religious movement,—that religion had nothing to do with it, that it spread itself simply through the temptations held out by its lawlessness and licensed spoliation,—that in short it was a system of pillage and rapine, its pretence reform,—its real purposes plunder,—and its lure, a participation in the spoils?

The secularization of the monks, says Audin, was one of the great measures contrived by the Reformer to destroy Catholicism; it was necessarily followed by the spoliation of the religious houses.† He quotes Melancthon, who admitted that, in the triumph of the Reformation, the German princes had in view profane and earthly interests,—seizing the treasures of the cloisters, and the spoils of the Church.‡ And even Luther himself affirmed that the *ostensoria* or *monstrances* of the Church had made many conversions.§ Yet he had himself prompted them to seize the property of the monasteries,—of course, as in the case of England, under specious pretexes of a “useful” application, but with the *reality* of the most iniquitous confiscation. They did but develope his teaching, and “bettered the example” of the Emperor, who, true to the hereditary policy of the imperial court, had connived at the heresy as his predecessor had done, from feelings of jealousy towards the Holy See, and from a wish to stop the collection of any money for its treasury. Thus it was that indulgences were allowed to be impeached, because they formed a branch of the Papal revenues; and the Emperor’s arms had carried into the Eternal City the same sword of pillage which the ruthless princes carried into the German monasteries. The same spirit actuated the emperor and the princes,—a sordid spirit of avarice, which, in them found one scene or mode of manifestation, in him another, but rendered all equally indifferent to reli-

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\* 402.

† Ib. 179.

‡ Ib. 186.

§ Ib. 189.

gion, and disposed to favour heresy for the sake of plunder or of policy.

Audin quotes the German historian, Arnold, to show instances in which the citizens or the princes plundered religious houses.\* In Stralsund, for instance, the citizens expelled the monks, and the duke seized the goods they had been forced to abandon. At Magdeberg the council of the magistrates decreed that the monks, during their lives, should remain in their cells, and continue to be supported at the expense of the house, on condition that they would throw off their religious habit and embrace the Reformation. Hunger, says Audin, made numerous apostates, and such were the victories recorded by the "Reformers."† What were they but robbers? What difference was there between unlicensed pillage by the war, and regular plunder by the authorities? Audin cites the testimonies for the facts he states, and states that Plank and other Protestant historians have given long details of the spoliation of the religious houses.‡ All this was quite in conformity with the example and policy of the emperor. What distinction was there between the princes plundering the property of the Church in Germany, and himself invading and ravaging the patrimony of the Holy See in Italy? In perfect consistency, therefore, with his previous conduct was his ratification of the treaty of Nuremberg, (1531) by which the Protestants were allowed the free exercise of their religion until a rule of faith was settled by a General Council, (or a diet of the empire!) and meanwhile they were to retain the alienated Church goods and lands.§ When, two years afterwards, he attempted to maintain the duty of restitution of ecclesiastical property, Philip of Hesse immediately resumed arms, and the Protestant princes renewed their confederacy,|| until Charles agreed to another truce, in consequence of which, to use the language of Archdeacon Coxé, "Germany for some time remained in a state of dubious peace." "From the edict of Worms," he continues, "Charles had either granted or withheld liberty of conscience," (that is, had tampered with or sought to trample on Lutheranism), "he was on friendship or at enmity

\* v. ii. 194.

† 195.

‡ *Ib. in notis.*

§ Coxé i. 442.

|| *Ib.* 444.

with the Pope or the Turk!" This, which is perfectly true, speaks significantly as to the unprincipled conduct of the emperor. We will give in the Protestant historian's words a description of one of the events which followed the treaty of Marenberg. "Herman, Elector and Archbishop of Cologne, had embraced the Reformation, and encouraged its introduction among his subjects. This example held forth to the ecclesiastical princes the prospect of retaining possession of their dominions, and of acquiring independence, and a temporal sovereignty by embracing and encouraging the new doctrines."\* Apprehensive for the interests of the empire Charles now made that resort to arms which he would not have made for the sake of religion, and when, after succeeding in crushing the Protestant league, he reassembled a diet at Augsburg, and had the power if he pleased, of restoring the Church to the position she had lost,—he was diverted from the great work by his dishonest designs, for the wresting of Parma and Placentia from the Holy See. No wonder that in the "Interim" the restoration of alienated Church property was again waved. It would have been a most obvious inconsistency for the emperor, who was busy in new plans of aggression on the Patrimony of the Holy See in Italy, to assert any scruples as to the confiscation of Church property in Germany. When, however, he had wrested Placentia from the Pope, the inconsistency was actually exhibited; for, on his reassembling the diet at Augsburg, he demanded full power to determine relative to the restitution of ecclesiastical property! It was rational enough that such conduct should excite mingled indignation and disgust against the Emperor; and, despite the injurious results to religion, it is difficult to repress feelings of satisfaction, in contemplating the disastrous campaign, which drove him into the ignominious treaty of Passau, by which Protestantism was again temporarily recognized. "From this period," says Coxe, "fortune forsook him, and almost all his enterprises failed of success."† At the third diet of Augsburg, (1555) held to confirm the treaty of Passau, Protestantism was finally established, and the diet not only did not decree the restitution of Church

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\* Ib. 446.

† p. 472.

property, but declined to direct that prelates, or other ecclesiastics, should relinquish their benefices and temporal possessions in the event of their abjuring the Catholic faith!—a course which fixes indelibly the brand of dishonesty on the promoters of the “Reformation,” and held out a direct and sordid inducement to all ecclesiastics to abandon their compact for the sake of secularizing their territories, securing at the same time the right to marry, and to transmit the Church property to their heirs.\* It is true that the emperor, by a subsequent reservation, declared that ecclesiastics on becoming Protestants should vacate their benefices; but this, as not having been sanctioned by the diet, was never received as of equal force with the “recess” itself, and the emperor’s own example so stamped his “reservation” with inconsistency, that it had little moral power in the empire, especially as the “recess,”—the decree of the diet—declared Protestantism a recognized and protected religion.

It is not surprising that after this the Pope (Paul IV.) should have threatened the emperor with excommunication, if he did not declare the “recess” null and void. This, as Archdeacon Coxe admits, was on account of the recognition of Protestantism,† not on account of the question as to Church property which, indeed, was left untouched in the “recess” itself, and was for the future protected so far as the emperor was concerned, by the “reservation.” It is obvious that the anxiety of the Holy See was not as to property, but as to heresy; and it is equally obvious upon the testimony of this eminent Protestant historian, that the remorse of the emperor at the result of his dishonest connivance at the progress of Lutheranism, occasioned his retirement from the imperial dignity. The diet was opened in February, (1555) and the “recess” was scarcely ratified before he resolved (April 1555) upon the resignation of his crown. (1556). Luther had been dead nearly ten years, but Lutheranism was now firmly established, and mainly by reason of the agency, or the insincerity of Charles and his predecessor in the empire.

Looking back again over the history of the few past years, it is impossible not to see that the power of the

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\* Ib. 475.

† p. 478.

emperor had paralyzed the Holy See. When (1548) he published his "Interim," the Pope (Paul III.) found it, as was natural, (so Ranke himself expresses it\*) intolerable, that the emperor should prescribe a rule of faith; but, however earnestly he complained of that, or of Church property being left in the hands of its present (Protestant) possessors, the emperor remained immovable, though Cardinal Farnese declared that in the Interim he could point out several heresies.†

In the affair of Placentia, Charles was impenetrable to any appeal to justice, though it was clearly the property of the Holy See, and had been frequently guaranteed by treaty; and thus the Emperor set the example at once of an encouragement of heresy and the perpetuation of spoliation. Let it be remembered that Luther was now dead, but his had never been otherwise than the subordinate part in the establishment of Protestantism; he had been merely the instrument and tool of princes, sordid, rapacious, and irreligious; his death made no difference; the *Emperor*, not *Luther*, was the main promoter of the heresy. And as Ranke himself tells us: "There ever rose before the Pope, the formidable power of the Emperor, whose influence he dreaded, more especially in ecclesiastical affairs."‡ The same historian also describes the injuries and insults inflicted (mainly through the agency of the Emperor) on the oppressed Pontiff who broke his heart, adding another to the many Popes killed by the brutality of secular princes. His successor, Julius III., felt the effects of the same fatal influence. He decreed the re-assembling of the Council of Trent (1553) declaring that he did so without compact or condition. At the commencement of 1552, however, he found that "efforts were making under the auspices of the Emperor, to deprive him of his authority, that the Spanish bishops sought to reduce the chapters to a state of servile subjection on the one hand, while they desired to deprive the Holy See of the presentation to benefices on the other." We are quoting Ranke.§ "But he affirmed to resolve to endure no invasion of his rights; under the title of an "abuse" he would not permit those

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\* Vol. i. p. 201.

† Ibid.

‡ v. i. p. 201.

§ P. 209.



prerogatives to be torn from him, which were no abuse but an essential attribute of his legitimate power." The result was, that the Council was broken up for the present.

Remembering the testimony of Hurter that the independence of the Holy See was essential to the freedom of the Church, and necessary to prevent religion from becoming degraded to a state function—how is it possible to think that the Pope could have acted otherwise? or how can it be wondered at, that after this he made no more vain efforts to struggle against the despotic power of the Emperor, who was resolved, by means of his tools in a council, to seek to enslave the Church? The evil results of the system of patronage, against which so many Pontiffs had contended, was now apparent, and proved the main obstacles to a settlement of doctrine and discipline; the Sees were filled with courtly prelates, instruments of the Emperor, and the Pope dreaded to convene the council for fear of an Erastianism which was already too powerful. Paul IV. had just ascended the papal throne before the Emperor's abdication, and Ranke describes him as acknowledging no other duty than the restoration of the Catholic Faith to all its primitive authority.\* "We do promise and swear," he said in the little that he published on his accession to the Holy See, "to make it our first care that the reform of the Universal Church and of the Roman Court be at once entered on."† "He appointed," adds Ranke, "a congregation for the promotion of reforms in general." "The articles to be discussed by them in relation to the appointments to clerical offices and collations to benefices, were to be submitted to the universities." This again is significant (as we have already observed) of the seat and source of the abuses:—the local prostitution of patronage, an evil which two centuries before, the Holy See had urged provincial churches to correct, and which, without their co-operation, it could not correct, by reason of the restrictions placed upon its power over the administration of church patronage. Ranke states, with characteristic mixture of truth and falsehood, error and candour, "It is manifest that the new Pope proceeded with great earnestness in the work of reform. The spiritual tendency which had hitherto affected the

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\* V. i. p. 213.

† Ib. 214.



lower ranks of the hierarchy alone *now* seemed to gain possession of the papal throne itself;”\* as if the very reverse were not the fact! as if for centuries the lower ranks of the hierarchy had not been the chief cause of the abuses locally existing; as if the successive Pontiffs had not for centuries been in vain urging them to redress these abuses! as if the present Pope was doing anything which had not been done before over and over again; and as if these reiterated labours had not proved abortive, through the corruptions of the lower ranks of the hierarchies, by the perversion of Church patronage by princes.

Hardly however had he ascended the papal throne before he was involved in war with the Catholic enemies of the Holy See. He had always affirmed that Charles favoured the Protestants from jealousy of the Pope, that the successes of the heretics were attributable to no other than the Emperor, and he “freely called his imperial majesty a favourer of heretics and schismatics.”† It was now the Emperor’s son who assailed him with hereditary inveteracy; and the pontiff declared him descended of a race who had ever desired to destroy the Holy See.‡ The Emperor had commenced hostilities against the new Pope from resentment at having been elected without regard to his influence;§ and after the Emperor’s abdication his son continued the same policy. In the contest which ensued, which was only a continuance of the old contest for the possession of Italy, the Pontiff nobly maintained the independence and integrity of the Holy See, and that he did so from the purest motives, is plain from the account which Ranke gives of the zeal and energy with which he pursued the work of reform so soon as hostilities were at an end.|| Nor were his reforms confined to the mere abolition of abuses. “Not content with a negative effect only,” writes Ranke, “he proceeded to practical amendments. He permitted no day to pass without the promulgation of some edict tending to restore the Church to its original purity.” Ranke quotes an Italian historian, who declares “this Pontiff proceeded so gravely and with so much dignity in the divine cause, that he seemed a worthy Vicar of Christ, and in matters of religion greater

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\* Ib. 215.

† Ib. 216.

‡ 227, in notes.

§ P. 217.

|| p. 232.

diligence could not be desired ;”\* and quotes another, who speaks of “the incredible gravity and grandeur in all his actions.”†

His successor, Pius IV., was a Pontiff who proceeded in the same spirit. “Affairs, spiritual and temporal, were conducted with due attention to the interests of the Church, and the work of reform was not neglected.”‡ The Protestant historian immediately adds as an instance, “Pius admonished the bishops publicly to reside in their dioceses.” Here again it is obvious that it was not abuses, but reforms which emanated from Rome. The abuses were mainly local, the remedy came from Rome. It had been urged for centuries ; that it was accepted so tardily was not the fault of the Holy See. It was the fault of the secular princes, whose thoughts were intent, not on the reform, but on the plunder of the Church. The sequel shows this as strongly as the past. Pius IV. (1562) reassembled the Council of Trent. “Without doubt,” says Ranke, quoting an historian who does not usually (as he observes) take part with this Pontiff, “his boldness in this matter gave proof of all the zeal that was to be expected from so exalted a pastor, and neglected nothing that could forward so holy and needful a work.”§ But what followed? The Spanish prelates mooted whether the residence of bishops in their dioceses was by divine command ; but maintained that episcopal authority had its origin immediately from God. As Ranke observes, “this struck at the very root of the whole ecclesiastical system ;” establishing the independence of subordinate grades of the hierarchy, as far as the Pope was concerned ; admitting of a complete subordination to the power of the secular sovereign, by reason of the system of patronage against which the Pontiff had for centuries struggled as the source of all abuse. Neither these princes nor their subservient prelates desired the exercise of the pontifical power for the extirpation of these abuses ; and hence, when the Holy See was once more labouring with that object, they united to thwart its efforts by establishing the independence of the national hierarchies as regarded the Pope. And the

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\* P. 233, in notes.

† P. 213, in notes.

‡ P. 247.

§ P. 249.

Emperor, with the same views, actually demanded that the council should reform the Popedom, that clerical celibacy should be abolished, and that the monasteries should be reformed; the last, as Ranke satirically remarks, for this special reason, that their great wealth might not be expended in so profligate a manner.\* This was obviously a revival of those schemes of secularization of the monastic property which Luther had suggested, and which had led the princes to support him. It is impossible to believe that such suggestions from such sources were inspired by sincere desire to reform the religious orders. It is, on the contrary, abundantly attested that the Holy See was sincere, and found itself obstructed by the local hierarchies and the secular powers.

And under its auspices the council proceeded, and the important canons respecting clerical ordination and indulgences, in fact, all the principal measures of reform adopted by the assembly were decided on in the last three sessions of 1563. The Pope complained that the Spanish and the imperial bishops had been his principal opponents, and Ranke explains the reason. The king, holding the nomination of bishops himself, had a personal interest in the extension of episcopal authority. This indicates significantly the real source of all the difficulties in the way of reform. The most rigid performance of their duties was enjoined on the bishops, more especially of that involving the supervision of the clergy. This was precisely what the Popes had been inculcating for six centuries past. It was the subject of the struggles of Pontiffs with the emperors of the Swabean line, and the object of reiterated remonstrances since the accession of the house of Hapsburgh, especially during the last two centuries. And all the canons of the Council of Trent as to discipline, were directed to the extirpation of local abuses, which had grown up since the Papal power over provincial churches had been restrained, and chiefly had arisen from the corruption of the clergy through the abuse of local patronage. Repeatedly had the sessions of the council been interrupted by the aggressions of the secular princes, especially the Emperor, on the Holy See, and its labours had been prolonged and obstructed by the interested opposition of the

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\* P. 251.

provincial hierarchies, under the influence of the princes who held the patronage in their hands. And it was wholly owing to the zeal and wisdom of the Apostolic See, and entirely against the influence of the secular power, that in 1563 the council brought its long labours to a successful close.

The moment it was closed, the Holy See eagerly availed itself of the powers it had gained for the purpose of effecting the reforms it had so long struggled to introduce. Its decrees were immediately sent to the ecclesiastical courts of Germany, and were brought before the diet held at Augsburg in 1566. Mark the result, as stated by Ranke. "This was the first diet in which the Catholic princes opposed an effectual resistance to the Protestant demands. The Pope's exhortation found attentive listeners, and in a special assembly of the ecclesiastical princes, the decrees of the Council of Trent were provisionally accepted."\* Once more, we ask, what was the result? We will again answer in the words of Ranke. "A new life may be said to have commenced from this moment in the Catholic Church of Germany." A new life, the result of the labours of the Holy See. "These decrees were gradually published in the provincial synods." "The most rigid visitation of the churches commenced, and the bishops, who had hitherto been extremely negligent, now displayed the utmost zeal and devotion." This testimony is most important for the vindication of the Papacy, and the condemnation of the so-called "Reformation." It proves what we have all along been contending, that the abuses of the Church were to be ascribed not to the Holy See, but to the neglect and decline of its authority, and that their reform proceeded not from the secular princes, the promoters of the pretended reformation, but from the Holy See itself. These reforms were those which the Holy See had been urging on the empire and its hierarchies for centuries, and which had been resisted by the interested opposition of the emperors and the hierarchies. They were reforms which, had the Holy See been obeyed, would have been effected six centuries before, and to effect which the Holy See had found it necessary to convene a council to support its power, by securing the co-operation of the hierarchies,

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\* P. 426.

and thus enable itself to enforce the decrees which it caused to be passed. "Thus it was," writes Ranke, "that Catholicism, which might have been thought conquered, once more arose in Germany with renewed strength."\* Luther had scarcely been dead a quarter of a century before Lutheranism began to decline. And it declined so soon as the Papal power obtained the ascendancy over the Imperial, and by the aid of a council enforced its decrees.

The remainder of Ranke's "History of the Popes" is occupied with describing the reaction against Protestantism, and the triumphs of revived Catholicism. We have purposely confined ourselves chiefly to *Protestant* historians, that we might at once confirm the authority of Audin, and from unimpeachable testimony supply his deficiencies. He is deficient principally in respect to that which has formed the subject of our argument, the political character of Lutheranism. But if Audin is deficient in this, Dr. Dollinger is far more so. That which in Audin indeed is defective, in Dollinger is absent. We speak especially of the abridged life of Luther, a little work, not less important however because it is little, and in one sense nothing that comes from the pen of such a writer can be little. The abridgement was, we understand, executed under his own care, and certainly does justice to the larger work. And as Dr. Dollinger permits himself to speak of Audin's *Life* as written with great ignorance of "the whole state of Germany at the time," we venture to remark that, on the contrary, it is written with greater reference to the state of Germany than Dr. Dollinger's. We avoid saying "with greater *knowledge*" of it; for of want of knowledge we will not accuse Dr. Dollinger, but certainly he has not used his knowledge in this respect so well as the writer he accuses of "ignorance." He wholly ignores that which we have endeavoured to show was the main motive, the real origin and cause of the movement called the Reformation; viz.: the sordid views and interested schemes of the German Princes, of whom Luther made himself for a selfish purpose the servile tool. Scarcely a quarter of a century was necessary to expose the true character of the Lutheran heresy. From its origin it had proved itself less a heresy than a rebellion.

It was a revolt from faith for the purposes of lust and rapine. It did not originate in any objection to doctrine, for in its origin no doctrine was distinctly impugned. Neither did it arise from impatience at abuse, for it, instead of specifying abuses, resorted to calumnies, and arose at the very period when a council had been convened for the reformation of discipline, and a series of Pontiffs succeeded in the Apostolic Chair, zealous for the restoration of an apostolic spirit. It had nothing spiritual in its nature, for from the first it was characterized by an anxious and artful subserviency to the secular power, and propitiated its support and procured its aid by crafty schemes of spoliation and pillage. It was in its essence destructive; it was merely as an after thought, and as a sort of necessity, that it set up a sort of religious system of its own, to fill up the dreary waste of unbelief it had created. And having no foundation in faith, that system crumbled away, or became a cold and lifeless skeleton, so soon as the secular power, satiated by spoliation, ceased to cherish it. And, on the other hand, no sooner was the Church liberated from the pressure of the secular power, than she effected those reforms which, but for that pressure, she would centuries before have carried out, and which she had vainly urged upon the secular power and the local hierarchies to admit. And thus, hardly had the heretic's great patron been laid in his grave ere Catholicism began to revive, and the scene of his blasphemies became the theatre of her triumphs. His was but a revival of the heresy of Huss;—as the Bohemian heretic did but put into theory the rude despotism of Barbarossa, so the Saxon made himself a useful instrument of an emperor who imitated the barbarity and surpassed the hypocrisy of his predecessors; an emperor who, like them, invaded Italy, robbed the Holy See of its patrimony, and sought to enslave the Church to his despotic will. Luther in short was but the tool of a tyrant, whose bad passions he pandered to, that he might indulge his own. His principles spread rapidly, for they were the principles of self-indulgence, taught monks to lust and princes to commit rapine. But having no root of religious feeling, no basis of belief, they could not long sustain a religious aspect, could not resist the first shock of revived Catholicism, and speedily degenerated into rationalism, so that Lutheranism, which has no principle really in it but that of revolt from the

authority of the Holy See, has verified the sage aphorism of Hurter, and vindicated the very authority against which it revolted, by exhibiting in itself a proof that a religion separated from the Holy See must inevitably become like paganism, a mere state function.

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ART. II.—*Food and its Adulterations, comprising the Reports of the Analytical Sanitary Commission of the Lancet.* By ARTHUR HILL HASSELL, M.D. London: Longmans, 1855.

IT is impossible to read the earlier writers upon country management and domestic economy, without perceiving that each household prepared almost every thing for itself, and also without having a feeling of envy at the apparent picture of rural felicity that such a mode of management presents. The ox and the swine that, when salted, afforded the winter staple food, were not only raised and fattened, but cured upon their owner's land; the sheep and poultry that supplied food in summer had also been brought up by their possessor; the "coney" and game, the latter invariably caught by what are now termed poaching practices, were furnished by the fields or the adjacent common; the brook yielded trout and chub, the fishponds carp, tench, eels, &c., (for until comparatively lately, owing to the slowness of locomotion and transit, save within a few miles of the coast, fresh fish was never seen in country places); the arable land grew the wheat which, when ground at the neighbouring soak mill, came back diminished perhaps a little improperly in weight, but not doctored with alum or stuff, and was in the kitchen converted into bread, and the garden supplied every kind of fruit and vegetable that was needed. Honey, for which we substitute sugar, was procured from the apiary, and the home dairy gave plenty of cheese and butter.



Nor was this all. Save in the two or three large (at least they were considered large then,) towns, almost every one, lady or gentleman, was in those days a domestic manager, and, indeed, generally a cook. Isaac Walton was clearly far prouder of cooking that memorable chub, with the white mark on his tail, than he was of catching it; and even the dandy cavalier, Cotton, went to his kitchen to dress with his own hands a greyling for his guest. In those days ladies cooked and candied, preserved and pickled. The barley of the adjacent field was converted into malt, and every March and October that malt was converted into 'ale—ale, too, that contained nothing but malt, hops, and water. \* In the southern part of the island grapes yielded wine, and farther north other fruits furnished a beverage almost equal to it. Every sauce, preserve, pickle, potted meat, and the like, had not only their materials generally raised at home, but they were compounded at home. Perhaps sometimes they wanted a gout which the experience of manufacturing on a large scale can alone teach to produce, but at any rate everything was wholesome and honestly made, and fit to eat and drink.

For many years, save in isolated places, all this has been changed. Now bread is almost universally bought from a baker, and the baker as universally purchases his flour from a wholesale miller; malt liquor is procured from the retailer of a brewer; no real i.e. grape wine is made at all at home, although a great portion of that consumed is really of home production; vinegar, sauces, confectionary, pickles, &c., are bought from shopkeepers, and lastly, many articles now of common usage, but which were not so three or four centuries ago, and which are obtained from foreign countries, are necessarily purchased from similar sources.

Theoretically there is no objection to all this. A baker operating on a pretty large scale economizes fuel and so forth, so as to be able to supply families with bread as cheaply as they could make it, and yet keep a profit to himself of five, or seven, or may be, sometimes ten per cent. The brewer may act in a similar manner, and so the pickle manufacturer, and the like, all being able to sell, particularly to townspeople, an article of production, that if made on a small scale at home, and particularly if, as would likely be the case, made after some empirical and

extravagant receipt, would actually cost more money. The purchase of tea, coffee, &c., on the small scale, is also cheaper than buying these articles in large quantities. Practically, at the present day, there is an objection to all this. Are all the bakers honest men, and is what they sell really pure bread? May the brewers be trusted to sell nothing but malt, hops, and water? Do many of the Italian warehousemen impose upon their customers in the articles that they supply them with? Do most of the grocers carefully avoid selling an adulterated article? or do they not themselves purposely adulterate it? Unfortunately, but unquestionably, in these, and in many similar cases, the bad answer to these questions is the true one. We laugh at the Yankees for their trade tricks, their wooden nutmegs, and their imitation carrot seeds, and in this country we scarcely as yet cheat without a profit and for the mere love of the thing, but particularly after the perusal of the work now under our notice, it is impossible to deny that there is a large section of our middle classes concerned in trade, and who are considered quite respectable, and yet who, in the practice of their various occupations, commit great impositions, and systematically utter falsehoods. In particular almost every article of food that can be adulterated is so, and that very often too, in many cases, with highly poisonous ingredients, the consequences being an immense amount of imposition, and, what is still worse, of disease.

It is now many years since Accum published his celebrated "Death in the Pot" treatise, and since then the subject has been attended to by Mitchell, Normandy, and others. But the writings of these gentlemen have made little public impression, one reason probably being that the existing state of our knowledge at the time did not in all cases enable them to make their statements sufficiently exact and precise. Some four years ago Dr. Hassall, who, besides the more ordinary studies of a physician, has paid particular attention to microscopical investigations, had his attention turned to ground coffee, as sold in the shops, and he read the result of his investigations upon this article made by means of the microscope to the London Botanical Society, and his paper excited considerable attention. This led him to consider the state of sugar, as sold in our shops, but while he was doing this he was applied to by Mr. Wakley, as proprietor of the "Lancet," to investigate the

actual state of articles of food in general, as usually found in the shops, and (at least eventually) if he found any particular sample adulterated, to publish the name of the vendor, with the particular nature and extent of the adulteration, Mr. Wakley taking all the responsibility of such publication. Accordingly Dr. Hassall has already investigated nearly fifty articles of food, or classes of articles of food, and has discovered an amount of adulteration which certainly no person was prepared for. Only one or two dealers, the purity of whose goods has been denied, have attempted to defend themselves, or to explain away their proceedings, and every one who has so attempted has completely failed. The secret of his success has been, that in addition to chemical analysis, he has used the microscope in his inquiries, and his merit not only consists in the able manner in which he has employed the instrument, but in his being the first to use it practically, and to such an extent, for the purpose. Before giving an abstract of some of the results that he obtained, we may cite as an example of the almost infallible accuracy to which he has attained the following fact.

He had remarked that he had not succeeded in procuring one single genuine sample of flour of mustard in London. Upon this Mr. Davies, of Newcastle, a flour of mustard manufacturer, and whose conduct, if a little suspicious at first, was highly honourable afterwards, wrote to him. We extract his first letter, Dr. Hassall's reply, and Mr. Davies's second and creditable letter.

"To the Editor of the *Lancet*.

"Sir,—I noticed in a late number of the *Lancet* a statement that genuine mustard was not to be obtained in London, and have found such to be the case. I have been a manufacturer of mustard for twenty years, and during that time have frequently attempted to introduce it into the London trade, but could never succeed. The London mustard is principally made from the white mustard seed, with the addition of the ingredients mentioned in your analysis. The description of mustard I manufacture is taken from the brown seed, (*Sinapis nigra*), of which I take the liberty of sending you a sample. You will find it quite free from the adulterations found in the London mustards. The reason why I could never get it into the London market is, the difference of colour, it being much darker than that made from the white seed, and the

brown seed being much dearer and less productive, I have to charge a higher price for it. I am, Sir, yours obediently,

“THOS. DAVIES.”

The following is Dr. Hassall's brief reply.

“Our correspondent is deceived, the article he has sent us is not a specimen of pure brown mustard, as it contains a small quantity of turmeric.”—ED. LANCET.

This is Mr. Davies's answer.

“To the Editor of the Lancet.

“Sir,—In my letter to you of the 31st ultimo respecting my mustard, I stated you would find it free from the adulterations found in the London markets, which I contend it is, except, as you observe, ‘a small portion of turmeric,’ viz., *two ounces to fifty-six pounds* of seed, not for the purpose of gain or adulteration, but simply to enliven the colour and make its appearance more acceptable. However, your remarks have determined me to relinquish that small portion of extraneous matter, and depend solely on its original colour and strength for its future success.

“I am, Sir, yours obediently,

“THOMAS DAVIES.

“Enclosed is a sample without colouring.

“Newcastle on Tyne.”

That is to say, that Dr. Hassall detected, by means of the microscope, one part of turmeric in five hundred and forty-seven of mustard. Even people not acquainted with science are now accustomed to hear of chemists being able to do something of this nature, although not to such compound articles as turmeric powder, but to many the manner in which this is done by means of the microscope will seem inexplicable. It is, however, very simple. Any one with ordinary powers of vision can distinguish when the two objects are near him, between a horse and a cow, but if he look into a piece of putrid cheese, &c., he cannot discriminate between two kinds of mites that may be there. If, however, he inspect the mites through a magnifying glass of sufficient power, he can tell the one from the other as easily as in the other case, he can pronounce which is the horse and which the cow. So with vegetable, (or in like manner with mineral) substances, any one having a knowledge of botany can distinguish between a mustard and a turmeric plant, but when the edible parts

of these two are finely powdered down, his unassisted eye refuses to do so. But if the powders are magnified some, say, two hundred times, the difference between the two powders again becomes sufficiently distinct. In the case before us, for example, powdered turmeric occurs in large cells, and powdered mustard in extremely small ones, and a person accustomed to the use of the microscope can at once pronounce which is which. In fact, as there is no simple element, the existence of which cannot be detected by means of chemistry, and its nature ascertained, so there is no compound article of food that cannot have *its* nature determined by means of the microscope. For the future, then, any adulteration of an article of food may be in one of these two manners easily detected, and for the latter of these two modes of detection we are practically, as before mentioned, much indebted to Dr. Hassall.

We now proceed to enumerate some of the results of his investigations, and in doing so our limits compel us to consider but a few of the articles of food examined by Dr. Hassall. We cannot pass over bread, pickles, preserves, cayenne pepper, curry powder, ginger, mustard, tea, coffee, and chicory.

If bread was once the "staff of life," it is now certainly very often the crutch of destruction. All the specimens examined by Dr. Hassall, which he had purchased from London shops, were adulterated, and a constant adulteration was the very dangerous one of alum. Out of forty-nine samples examined not one was found free from this impurity, and the purchase of "stuff," a compound of alum and common salt, appears to be constantly and extensively carried on by the London and, we fear, also by the provincial bakers. It is sold largely by the druggists, and by the corn chandlers, and is also known by the name of "hards."

"This consists of a mixture of alum and salt. It is kept in bags holding from a quarter to one hundred weight; it is sold by the druggist, who supplies either the baker or the corn-chandler,—the latter again in some cases furnishing the baker with it from time to time, as he may require. In country towns and villages the baker is put to considerable trouble to procure his supplies of "stuff," for, as he is unwilling that his friends and neighbours should know that he makes use of any such article in his bread, he generally contrives to procure it of a druggist living some miles away from his own town. On Saturday night a druggist in good

business will have several applications in the course of the evening for alum, hards, and stuff."—p. 160.

According to Markham the maximum quantity of alum detected in a loaf of bread was 116 grains, and the minimum  $34\frac{1}{2}$ . The average amount in ten loaves that were examined was more than 80 grains, or supposing a sack of flour to yield 92 loaves, 16 ounces to the sack. This average quantity is calculated to have a deleterious effect upon most people, and the maximum quantity very much so indeed. Alum is a powerful astringent, and its continued use doubtless tends to check very materially the due secretions of the alimentary canal and the digestive organs in general.

The main end attained by the baker by adding alum to the dough is, that by virtue of the great affinity of that salt for water, an unnecessary quantity of that fluid is retained, and hence the loaf weighs more than it really ought to do for the quantity of flour that it actually contains. Or in other words, the baker obtains from the same quantity of flour an increased but improper quantity of loaves. If the flour be of bad quality and discoloured, the alum too, from the property that it possesses of combining with organic colouring matter, whitens it. Upon the whole this adulteration of bread with alum may be pronounced to be a very dangerous one, and of almost constant practice.

The nature and the extent of the adulterations of pickles are such as to make one wonder that there have been such things as law and police in Great Britain.

"To persons," writes Dr. Hassall, "unacquainted with the subject, the title of this report, '*Pickles and their Adulterations*,' may appear somewhat singular, and they may be disposed to ask, 'Are not the girkins, cabbages, beans, &c., which one see in the bottle what they appear to be? And are other vegetables than those commonly known to us mixed with the ordinary kinds?' To these questions we thus reply. '*Girkins*,' on close examination, often turn out to be but shrivelled or sliced cucumbers; '*the young tender beans*' to be old and tough; the '*cauliflowers*' to have run to seed, and the '*red cabbage*' to be nothing more than white cabbage, turned into red by colouring matter, as a dyer would change the colour of a dress; further, that among the vegetables not unfrequently employed for the purpose of pickle making, are some which do not enter into the calculation of the epicure, as vegetable marrows, which, when cut



into pieces, form a very respectable imitation of cucumbers, and sliced turnips, the identification of which would be apt to puzzle even a botanist, as well as certainly all those who are uninitiated in the secrets of a pickle manufactory.

"But the adulteration to which we more especially allude, and to the consideration of which our attention will be particularly directed in the following remarks, are those which refer to the quality and composition of the vinegar used for pickling, as well as the means employed for preserving and heightening the colour of green pickles."—pp. 383-4.

One of the practices followed by the wholesale pickle manufacturers, although not very injurious, is a fraud. The greater part of the vegetables intended for pickling are bought for the sake of economy in the continental markets, and preserved by means of salt. Portions of these are taken out from week to week as they are wanted, for the purpose of being made into pickle, and sent into the market. One consequence of this is, that the colour of the green ones is more or less lost, and this gives an additional temptation to employ, as a colouring agent, a poisonous substance immediately to be noticed, acetate of copper. Of sixteen samples analyzed for cupreous salts, the presence of this poisonous metal was detected in every instance, and in only two samples was it found in small quantity. In one it was in considerable quantity,—in three, in very considerable,—in one, in highly deleterious, and in two in poisonous amount. This last expression means in immediately poisonous quantities. In this last-mentioned case the acute symptoms of copper poisoning, the violent vomiting, &c., and the disordered state of the nervous system that characterize acute copper poisoning will be induced if a sufficiently large quantity of the pickle be eaten at a meal; but in the other cases, in which a small quantity of the poison is introduced into the system, the symptoms of chronic copper poisoning will be brought on, as great disorder of the digestive organs, slow fever, and wasting of the body. And there can be little doubt that in this manner many cases of so-called semi-acute dyspepsia are created. Moreover, the vinegar employed in pickling is scarcely ever sufficiently strong, and the deficiency of acetic acid in it is made up by the addition of oil of vitriol. Of twenty samples examined this was found to be the case in nineteen instances. Although this is a



fraud, it is perhaps not a very dangerous one to the health of the consumer.

The preserves and jams of the shops are in as bad a state as the pickles. To say nothing of the substitution of turnips and apples for oranges in marmalade, of currant jelly and orris root for the more expensive raspberry jelly, which, if deceptions are not injurious to the health, almost every jar of preserves sold in the shops contains copper, sometimes apparently obtained from the copper vessels in which they are prepared, but also sometimes clearly purposely added directly. Thus, of nine samples of greengage jam that were examined, all were found impregnated with copper, and in five, the injurious substance was present to a very considerable extent; the same fruit, in three samples of crystallized fruit, was found to owe its intense green colour to the like adulterations; all the samples examined of greengage jam, nine in number contained copper, and five in considerable quantity; in fact, of thirty-five samples of this class of condiments that were examined, thirty-three contained this poisonous adulteration of copper, and nineteen of those in very large amount. Bottled fruits and vegetables are in nearly as bad a condition, copper being added to them in order to improve their appearance by increasing the intensity of the green colour. Thirty-three samples were examined, and twenty-seven were found more or less impregnated with this dangerous poison, and in all these cases it must have been introduced purposely, for it was found to be absent from the red fruits, to which of course the communication of a green colour is not desired by the vendor. Moreover, no copper utensil is used in their preparation, and hence none could accidentally get amongst them. Of the thirty-three samples examined seven contained the adulteration in small quantities only, eight in considerable, and six in very considerable amount, while four samples had the poison in very large quantity. The degree to which the adulteration is carried appears to vary a good deal in the different kinds of fruits. Gooseberries receive a considerable portion, rhubarb still more, greengages the largest quantity of any fruit thus preserved in this country, while olives were found to be the worst of all. This last fact is the more remarkable as a green colour is not necessary to this fruit. The impregnation of these bottled fruits with copper is even more dangerous than the same

adulteration of pickles, as so much larger quantities of them are consumed at a time. We should mention in passing, that, although the red preserved fruits, as red currants, are not doctored with verdigris, yet that, fruit which is damaged, or of inferior quality, is bought and artificially coloured with beet root.

The consumption of curry powder and cayenne pepper is so limited, and so much confined to classes of society, to the members of which, cheapness, particularly in articles used on so small a scale, is no great matter, that we might have expected they would escape adulteration. The very reverse, however, is the case,—curry powder is extensively adulterated both with innocent and poisonous admixtures. Out of twenty-six samples examined seven only were genuine, and sixteen adulterated. Nine specimens contained, and usually in great quantities, ground rice, and one potato starch, and eight had their weight increased by the addition of common starch. All this is simple cheating, what follows is dangerous poisoning into the bargain. Eight samples contained the dangerous poison—red lead. As the saturnine preparations are accumulative poisons, and produce various chronic diseases of the nervous system, and also of the organs of secretion, the amount of illness induced by the frequent use of adulterated curry powder is probably very considerable. Of course it is purposely added either to the curry powder, or to one of the ingredients of the curry powder, for it could not possibly get in accidentally. A very easy remedy is suggested by Dr. Hassall.

“The whole of the ingredients required for making curry powder may be obtained from most seedsmen.....With a common pestle and mortar the seeds may be reduced to powder, and thus the housekeeper may herself prepare genuine curry powder of the best quality, at a cost of about 2d. per ounce. Since curry powder is retailed at 6d., 8d., and even 1s, an ounce, it evidently bears an enormous profit.”—p. 477.

Of twenty-eight samples of cayenne pepper that were subjected to analysis, only four were found genuine. Of the remaining twenty-four, too, the majority were adulterated with poisonous matter. Thus, thirteen samples contained red lead, and one vermilion or sulphuret of mercury. The other adulterations were ground rice, mustard, seed husks, brick-dust, &c.

Even powdered ginger is most extensively mixed with inferior seasoning substances, or with altogether useless adulterations. Of twenty-one samples submitted to examination, Dr. Hassall found fifteen adulterated, and in the majority of these the amount of the adulteration actually exceeded in quantity that of the genuine ginger. Sago meal, potato flour, ground rice, are the principal articles used, while cayenne pepper, turmeric, and ground mustard husks are added, with a view of concealing the adulteration, and giving a fictitious pungency. As stated above, flour of mustard is most extensively adulterated. Dr. Hassall examined no less than forty-two samples and found every one impure. An immense quantity of wheaten flour (which is much cheaper than mustard flour) is added, and the mixture is then coloured to the requisite hue with turmeric. In some manner which, however, appears to be a secret among the adulterators, the colouring matter of the turmeric is uniformly different through the whole mixture. It is probably effected by applying heat and moisture simultaneously to the compound.

We will quote Dr. Hassall's own abstract of the result of his investigation into tea.

"The chief points ascertained with regard to Black Teas were—

"1st. The principal Black Teas, namely, the Congous and Sou-chongs, arrive in this country for the most part in a genuine state.

"2nd. That certain descriptions of black tea, as Scented Orange Pekoe and Caper, are invariably adulterated, the adulteration consisting in the glazing the leaves with plumbago, or black lead, the Caper likewise being subject to admixture with other substances, as Paddy husk and Lie tea, and leaves other than those of tea.

"3rd. That several varieties of a spurious caper or black Gunpowder are prepared, which consist of tea dust, and sometimes the dust of other leaves and sand, made up into little masses with gum, and faced or glazed with plumbago, Prussian blue and turmeric powder; in some cases these imitations are sold separately, but most frequently they are used to mix with and adulterate the better qualities of Caper, viz., those which are made of tea, faced with plumbago only."

"With respect to Green Teas the principal conclusions were:—

"1st. That these teas, with the exception of a few of British growth and manufacture from Assam, are invariably adulterated, that is to say, are glazed with colouring matter of different kinds.

"2nd. That the colouring matters used are in general Prussian blue, turmeric powder, and China clay, other ingredients being sometimes, but not frequently, employed.

"3rd. That of these colouring matters Prussian blue, or ferro cyanide of iron, possesses properties calculated to affect health injuriously.

"4th. That in this country there really is no such thing as a green tea, that is, a tea which possesses a natural green hue.

"5th. That green teas, and more especially the Gunpowders, in addition to being faced and glazed, are more subject to adulteration in other ways than black teas, as by admixture with leaves not those of tea, with Paddy husk, and particularly with Lie tea.

"6th. That Lie tea is prepared so as to resemble green tea, and is extensively used by the Chinese themselves to adulterate gunpowder tea; it is also sent over to this country in vast quantities, and is employed for the same purpose by our own tea dealers and grocers."—Introduction pp. xv. xvi.

Such are some of the adulterations practised by the Chinese. Unfortunately, after its arrival in this country, tea is subjected to many more frauds. In the first place, exhausted tea leaves are extensively bought up, dried, and "faced," or coated with various substances, in order to communicate the appearance of freshness, and sold as fresh tea. Exhausted tea leaves, it seems, can be bought at hotels, and such like places, at about three pence per pound, or less. These are mixed up with a solution of gum, redried, and then faced, as it is called, with rose pink, (i.e., logwood and carbonate of lime,) and blacklead. This makes, in appearance, a genuine tea, but which, of course, contains none of the soluble matter of the tea, and which soluble ingredients constitute its sole value as the basis of a beverage. Manufacturing green tea from exhausted leaves is also done, but the process is more difficult. Sulphate of iron is sometimes added to these exhausted tea leaves, to form some ink with the tannin, and thus strike a dark colour to give the appearance of strength. All these adulterations are very easy of detection. Indeed, the broken state of many of the leaves will in many instances indicate what has taken place. Sometimes, however, the leaves of indigenous trees, as those of the sycamore, horse chestnut, &c., are prepared and sold as tea. The microscope enables any such fraud as this to be discovered without any difficulty. In most of the cases in which this kind of imposition is attempted, some portion of the tea is genuine. For various other very instructing and important facts connected with the adulteration of tea, we must refer to the work of Dr. Hassall, and merely

observe here that some of the adulterations practised upon tea in this country are far more dangerous than any of the kind that takes place in China, before the tea is sent off to this country.

Coffee was, and perhaps notwithstanding the precautions taken recently to prevent the admixture of chicory with it, still is as much improperly interfered with as tea. Independently of the notorious admixture of ground coffee with chicory, it is very commonly adulterated with roasted corn, beans, potato flour, mangold wurzel, acorns, and other fraudulent admixtures. But, as is now universally known, until recently the great adulteration of coffee was with chicory, which sometimes formed a half, and sometimes nearly all of what was sold as ground coffee. The selling the mixture under the name of coffee is now punishable with a heavy fine, and as the detection of chicory in a sample is extremely easy, this fraudulent adulteration and fraud upon the public would probably have been put an end to had not the mixture been legalized by Mr. Gladstone, who was chancellor of the exchequer at the time, provided the mixture were labelled "mixture of chicory and coffee." It is impossible to conceive any reason for this, or any plan more likely to encourage the fraudulent trader. In the first place the "mixture" might contain ninety-nine per cent of chicory and only one of coffee, or to use Dr. Hassall's words, "a pinch of coffee to a pound of chicory;" in the second place the label would not be of much use to the very great numbers who cannot read, and who constitute the very class that require protecting from such frauds the most; and lastly, in a truly Anglican spirit, the label was to be in English even in Irish and Welsh districts, where the great majority of the inhabitants did not understand one word of that language. Dr. Hassall accordingly purchased after this treasury minute came into force thirty-four samples of coffee, buy them all in one day, and from every shop on each side of the street that he noticed to sell the article. He asked in every case for coffee, and the following was the result. Three, and three only, of the thirty-four parcels turned out to be genuine, and thirty-one contained chicory. In six of the samples the chicory constituted a third of the whole powder, in twenty-two about half, while three specimens were nearly entirely chicory. Notwithstanding the treasury order, ten of the mixtures were not labelled as

such, and in the twenty-one other instances, although the label was put on, yet in such case coffee was particularly asked for.

The names of the tradespeople who sold Dr. Hassall the adulterated coffee were all published, with their addresses, in the *Lancet*. A little time afterwards he again purchased coffee from the same shops. He had the satisfaction of finding that his exposure had done some little good. In place of three genuine samples out of thirty-four, he obtained nine, and twenty-five, instead of thirty-one, contained the adulteration. In eight of these latter chicory constituted a third, fourteen a half, and three were nearly all chicory together. Of the twenty-five samples, although coffee was asked for quite distinctly, twenty-three were labelled as "Mixture of coffee and chicory," and two not. As the treasury minute had so little effect, the label was ordered to be changed from "Mixture of coffee and chicory" to "This is sold as a mixture of coffee and chicory." The new set of words, according to Mr. Wilson, their author, "would effectually prevent anything like fraud in future." It has probably had no effect whatever. We entirely agree with Dr. Hassall in his remarks upon the impropriety of the treasury countenancing, by its formal permission, what is sure in practice to be a fraud.

"The fundamental objection to the recent Treasury order is, that it is opposed to every principle of fair dealing and morality, since it affords the highest possible sanction to fraud and adulteration. Now the alteration in the form of the words of the package will not in any way diminish the force of the moral objection. The mixture, even with the new label affixed, will still be extensively palmed off for coffee. It will still be necessary, in order to derive the slight protection that the label might afford, that the purchaser, whoever he may be, the Irishman or Welshman, acquainted only with his native tongue, or the untaught child, should be able to decipher the words upon the wrapper. The mixture will still be sold, made up of coffee and chicory in all proportions, from ounces of the one to pounds of the other, if the article do not even in some cases consist entirely of chicory.

"It might surely have been fairly expected that after the disclosures which have been made by this commission now for upwards of two years, showing that the most extensive and disgraceful adulterations are practised upon almost every article of consumption, that the government, in place of affording encouragement to adulteration, would assuredly have considered how it could but put a



stop to practices so detrimental to the commercial character of the nation, and so fraught with danger to the public health."—p. 532.

Nothing perhaps better illustrates the contagious nature of trickery than the fact that chicory itself, employed to adulterate coffee, is itself now grossly adulterated. It is mixed with ground roasted corn, ground acorns, mangold wurzel, roasted carrot, sawdust, and, for the purpose of producing a heightened colour, venetian red, black jack, (i. e. burnt sugar,) burnt biscuits, &c.

There is a vague impression upon the public mind that a little admixture of chicory improves the beverage we call coffee. If this be the case, at any rate the proper plan is for each consumer to buy the two articles under their proper names, and mix them for himself. But we now know that genuine coffee and tea contain a nitrogenous principle, to which the name of *caffeine* and *theine* are given. It is not, perhaps, yet a settled point as to whether they yield nitrogen to the system for the purpose of keeping up nitrogenous structures, or whether, as conjectured by Liebig, they assist in forming bile. At any rate it may, we think, be safely affirmed, that the dietetical value, and therefore the money value of tea and coffee mainly depend upon the presence of this nitrogenous compound, and therefore that any admixture of a substance which, like chicory, contains none such, is a positive fraud upon the consumer and purchaser. Upon this point Dr. Hassall thus expresses himself.

• "In favour of the adulteration it is alleged,

"First, that the admixture of chicory with coffee improves coffee, and that such addition is approved of by the public.

"In order to ascertain whether the addition of chicory to coffee be really an improvement, we prepared three infusions, one of coffee, another of chicory, and the third of both these, mixed in the proportions of three-fourths coffee and one-fourth chicory.

"The infusion of *coffee* was perfectly transparent, and of a dark and rich brown colour; it emitted an odour in a high degree penetrating and refreshing, and the taste was agreeable and rather bitter.

"Having been taken for a few minutes it produced a feeling of general warmth, and a state of bodily and mental activity and invigoration.

"The infusion of *chicory* was opaque, staining the sides of the vessel containing it; it possessed a heavy, though some people might be of opinion not a disagreeable smell, wholly unlike, how-



ever, the volatile and diffusive odour of coffee; in taste it was more bitter than the coffee, with a certain degree of sweetness.

"Having been swallowed for a few minutes it occasioned a feeling of weight at the stomach, and a general heaviness and indisposition to bodily and mental exertion.

"The combined infusion of chicory and coffee partook to a great extent of the characters of the infusion of genuine coffee, as might be anticipated from the large quantity of coffee that it contained.

"Altogether, we were unable to bring ourselves to believe that the addition of chicory to coffee, in the proportion of twenty-five per cent of the former, was any improvement; on the contrary, we were satisfied that the quality of the beverage was greatly impaired by the addition.

"Persons who are foolish enough to regard a slight sensation of weight and fulness in the region of the stomach, symptoms really of incipient indigestion, as evidences of the beverage being possessed of increased 'strength' and 'body,' might possibly be brought to consider the addition as an improvement."—p. 120.

With this extract we unwillingly for the meantime, at least, close the volume. At another time, perhaps, we may make use of its revelations respecting tobacco and its preparations, malt liquors, and gin. The amount of adulteration in almost every article of food and drink, that the pages of Dr. Hassall reveal, is very appalling, and indicate that a great deal of our conventional and almost stereotyped boasting of our commercial integrity is absolutely without foundation. Very likely our neighbours are, in this respect, not a bit better than ourselves, but the disclosures of Dr. Hassall seem to us to prove that we have no better plan of obtaining unadulterated food than by having rigid laws enacted against offenders, and by strictly enforcing them. At any rate science has done her part, and pointed out both the evil and its various forms.

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ART. III.—*Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El Medinah and Meccah.* By RICHARD F. BURTON. 8vo. Vols. I. II. London: Longmans, 1855.

MR. BURTON has had the good fortune to light upon what we had thought was, in these of universal travel, an absolute impossibility for a tourist, a perfectly novel theme. The motto of his title-page, taken from Gibbon;—"our notions of Mecca must be drawn from the Arabians, as no unbeliever is permitted to enter the sacred city:"—retains its full significance to the present hour. El Medinah and Meccah are still regarded as cities, which the tread of an infidel foot would desecrate; and the rigour with which the exclusion of foreigners has been enforced, has hitherto sufficed to preserve one spot at least sacred from the explorations of the indefatigable emissaries of the Geographical Society, or the still more enterprising compilers of Handbooks of Oriental Travel.

In truth, an unobstructed visit to either of these cities, or indeed to any part of the wild region in which they are situated, can only be performed in complete masquerade. It is not alone that the visitor must be a Moslem. So jealous is the surveillance, that even proselytes to Mahomedanism are practically excluded, being watched with so much suspicion that it is impossible for them to observe anything with satisfaction. A western visitor of the Moslem Holy Land, if he would hope to see, and to describe what he has seen, must not merely visit in the garb of a native Mahomedan, but must be such a proficient in the language and usages of the East, as to defy the scrutiny of his prying and suspicious fellow-pilgrims.

Under these circumstances it will easily be believed that the number of Mr. Burton's European predecessors in the Haj (or pilgrimage) has been very small. In 1503, Ludovico Bartema, "a gentleman of the citie of Rome," succeeded, through "the familiaritie and friendshippes of a certayne Captayne Mameluke," in obtaining the entree of Medinah and Meccah, as a member of the Damascus caravan of pilgrims, and in the garb of a "Mamaluchi

renegade." Towards the close of the next century, Joseph Pitts, of Exon, who was captured by an Algerine pirate, sold into slavery when but fifteen or sixteen years old, and compelled by the bastinado to profess himself a proselyte to Mahomedanism, was taken by his "patroon" on a pilgrimage to Meccah and Medinah, in 1680, and Giovanni Finati, an unprincipled Italian adventurer and renegade, repeated the experiment in 1814—the year before the ill-starred expedition in which the life of Burckhardt was sacrificed. The only European whom Mr. Burton himself has met with that had visited Meccah without apostatizing, is M. Bertolucci, the Swedish consul at Cairo, who induced the Bedouin Camel-men who were accompanying him to Taif, to introduce him in disguise. The late Dr. Wallin, professor of Arabic at the University of Helsingfors, performed the pilgrimage in 1845, in somewhat similar circumstances. But of these the former confesses, that his terror of being discovered effectually prevented him from making any observations, and the latter was hindered by the perils of his position, and the filthiness of his Persian fellow-travellers, from taking any notes of the little that he succeeded in observing.

Independently, therefore, of the interest which must attach to any account of a region so completely unknown in the West, the very narrative of an expedition so novel, and involving so much peril as well as of novelty, would be for its own sake sufficiently curious and attractive. The boldness and enterprise which Mr. Burton's former work on Scinde have shown to be his great characteristic, as well as his perfect familiarity with all the various forms of Eastern life, mark him out as peculiarly fitted at once to carry out the undertaking with success, to turn all its opportunities to the best and most satisfactory purpose, and to record its adventures with a lively and a graphic pen.

Accordingly, Mr. Burton has had the boldness to undertake the exploration of the sacred cities, not in the character of a renegade Christian, nor under a partial and temporary disguise, favoured and assisted by the corrupt connivance of some unscrupulous official, but as a regular member of the ordinary pilgrim caravan;—following it in all the stages of its progress, seeking no concealment, affecting no secrecy, but openly and unvaryingly maintaining, in language, in observances, in food, in mode of

life, and in 'a word, in every minute detail of conduct and deportment, the character of a native oriental, performing the work of piety which constitutes the great event in the religious life of every Moslem !

We shall see hereafter with what fidelity and minuteness he carried out this bold and daring project; with what painful scrupulousness he accommodated to all the distasteful details of "bed and board" of the poorer class of Eastern travellers; with what solemn earnestness he fulfilled every religious observance; how he went through the prescribed round of ablutions, prostrations, bead-tellings, and prayerful evolutions; how in fine he, to all intents and purposes, became, for the time, a thorough-going Turk. On the morality of all this we shall not stop to speculate. We have no doubt that what he did, he did solely in the interest of science, and without any idea whatever of dishonouring the Christian profession; nor shall we range ourselves with the "jocose editors" in India and elsewhere, who, on these grounds, have taxed Mr. Burton with "Turning Turk." But when we shall have told his story in his own words, hereafter, we shall leave him to settle the lawfulness of the proceeding with those among his own fellow religionists, who are most loud and unreserved in the abhorrence of Jesuitism, and of the arts which, in the notion frequently entertained of the order, Jesuitism is said to employ for the attainments of its ends. Never has the world seen a more thorough-going Jesuit, such as Jesuits are popularly described, than our Haji, the Dervish Abdullah—the name and profession assumed by Dr. Burton, as being one of the most familiar and convenient incognitos under which to travel in the East.

Indeed, if we could only put aside the question of the morality of the proceeding, it would be amusing to follow the pilgrim through all the phases of his assumed character as one of the holy men of Islam—to watch him as he carefully interlard his conversation with pious ejaculations to Allah, to his Prophet, and to the manifold Moslem saints whose memory is sweet at Medinah and Meccah; to see him piously pass from the *Dua*, or double prostration, to the *Sudjah*, or single one; or meekly assume the orthodox attitude of prayer, "placing his hands below the waist, and slightly inclined to the left, the right palm covering the left;" to listen to his murmured

litanies, responses, "testifications," "Fât-hâhs," verses, and even whole chapters from the Koran; to see him anxiously placing himself, so that his face should front Meccah, and his right shoulder should be opposite the right pillar of the Prophet's Pulpit! Nay, not content with the ordinary practices of personal devotion, we find him not merely discharging vicarious offices of piety in the name of acquaintances or friends, whom he had met upon his way, and who had charged him with such pious commissions on their behalf, (II. p. 79.) but even remonstrating with his companions for their want of devotion, and exhorting them to due fervour in the discharge of the observances of the pilgrimage. All this would in itself be sufficiently amusing; but we must say with pain that there are too many serious and awful considerations, however, involved in these and many similar incidents of the book, to be made a subject of idle merriment.

We can enjoy with a more comfortable feeling the ready *bonhomie* with which Mr. Burton accommodated himself to the *social* peculiarities involved in the requirements of his assumed character. No Madani of the Bait-el-Shaab, just returned after a commercial tour, could fall more naturally into the ranks of the pilgrim caravan, or follow with more easy grace all the mazes of the complicated ceremonial of Eastern life. His very stomach appears to have possessed an acclimatizing capacity,—to have received the rudest desert fare—the *kahk*, the date-paste, the "mare's skin," and the clarified butter, with as much composure as it had been wont to exhibit under the influence of the roast beef of Old England; and to have revelled in the vile-tasted *akit*, or the "leather-flavoured water" of the Red-Sea Pilgrim-ship, with as much seeming satisfaction as in the pale ale, or iced champagne of the Travellers or United Service club. It is only one who has really lived in the East, and who, even there, has lived in native, as contradistinguished from colonial society, that can understand how much is implied in this diversity of usages. "Look, for instance," writes Mr. Burton, "at an Indian Moslem drinking a glass of water. With us the operation is simple enough, but his performance includes no less than five novelties. In the first place, he clutches his tumbler as though it were the throat of a foe; secondly he ejaculates, 'In the name of Allah the Compassionate, the Mer-

ciful!' before wetting his lips; thirdly, he imbibes the contents, swallowing them, not drinking, and ending with a satisfied grunt; fourthly, before setting down the cup he sighs forth, 'Praise be to Allah!' of which you will understand the full meaning in the Desert; and fifthly, he replies, 'May Allah make it pleasant to thee!' in answer to his friend's polite, 'Pleasantly and health!' Also, he is careful to avoid the irreligious action of drinking the pure element in a standing position, mindful, however, of the three recognized exceptions, the fluid of the Holy Well, Zemzem, water distributed in charity, and that which remains after Wuza, the lesser ablution. Moreover, in Europe, one forgets the use of the right hand, the manipulation of the rosary, the abuse of the chair; your genuine Orientalist looks almost as uncomfortable in one as a sailor upon the back of a high trotting horse—the rolling gait with the toes, straight to the front, the grave look and habit of pious ejaculations." These, and a thousand similar discrepancies from what our European notions demand in posture, look, intonation, pervade the whole manner and deportment of an Eastern—discrepancies impalpable, perhaps, to an unpractised eye, but which a native will detect with rapid and unerring accuracy.

Even with qualifications such as these for eastern society, Mr. Burton found it necessary to adopt every precaution against the danger of detection. Fortunately for him, the strongly oriental character of his features and of the expression of his countenance, went far to disarm suspicion. It would be hard, we must say, for the most practised eye to discover a flaw in the "making up" of the face or figure which are depicted in his "portrait in the character of a Haji," as it appears in the frontispiece of the second volume of the *Pilgrimage*.

The original design of Mr. Burton's expedition was much more comprehensive than that of which we have an account in the volumes before us. He offered himself to the Geographical Society in 1852, to undertake an exploring expedition for the purpose of "removing that opprobrium to modern adventure—the huge white blot which in our maps still notes the eastern and central regions of Arabia." Failing, however, to obtain from the Court of Directors of the East India Company, (in whose service he holds the rank of lieutenant,) a prolongation of his furlough sufficient



for an undertaking at once so protracted and so perilous, he was obliged to content himself with what he calls the *experimentum crucis* of a visit to El Hejaz, in order "to prove by trial that what might be perilous to other travellers was safe to him." For this purpose he was liberally supplied with the means of travel by the Geographical Society; and, impelled by a general love of adventure, as well as by a special longing to set foot on that mysterious spot, the Moslem's Holy Land, the jealously guarded and exclusive "Haram," he resumed the old character of a Persian wanderer, in which he is already familiar to the British public.

His first intention was "to cross the unknown Arabian peninsula in a direct line, from either El Medinah to Mussul, or diagonally from Meccah to Makallah, on the Indian Ocean." He was obliged, however, to content himself with a less vast but more practical programme. Of the great eastern wilderness, poetically described on our maps as *Ruba el Kali*, (the empty abode,) he learned only "that its horrid depths swarm with a large and half-starving population; that it abounds in wadys, valleys, gullies, and ravines, partially fertilized by intermittent torrents, and therefore that it is open only to the adventurous traveller."\*

It is very difficult to define the exact limits of the district known as El Hejaz. It cannot be said to possess any natural boundaries, and, in that lawless region, the political boundaries are liable to endless changes. Mr. Burton, however, for convenience sake, has confined the designation to what is properly the Moslem Holy Land; taking Yambu and Jeddah as, respectively, the northern and southern points, and a line drawn through Medinah, Suwaykirah, and the mountain of Taif as the eastern limit;—thus making El Hejaz an irregular parallelogram, two hundred and fifty miles in length, with a maximum breadth of one hundred and fifty. The source of religious

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\* Mr. Burton calls loudly for a revision of our oriental maps, and especially of their nomenclature, which he describes as often very inaccurate. He mentions a case in which *M'adri*, ("I dont know," evidently the answer given to some inquiring traveller,) is gravely put down as the name of a place! This is a parallel in real life for the "*Monsieur Nonj tong paw*," of the comic song.



veneration with which every Moslem regards this spot lies, of course, in the memorials of the Prophet which it contains, and especially in the two sacred cities, Medinah and Meccah. Mr. Burton's visit to the latter forms the subject of a volume as yet unpublished, although promised during the course of this autumn. The volumes now before us are devoted to Medinah, and to the adventures of the pilgrimage thitherward. It is hardly necessary to explain that *El Medinah* merely means "the city," and is but a brief and familiar form for *Medinah El Nabi*, "the Prophet's City," by which designation it has been known in Moslem history from the very date of the Hegirah itself.

Mr. Burton's narrative begins with his departure from Southampton, on the evening of April 3, 1853. By the advice of a far-seeing brother officer, he assumed, like Burckhardt,\* his new character with all its external appliances, from the very threshold of his pilgrimage, and embarked in the Peninsular and Oriental Co.'s steamer, "Bengal," under the designation of a Persian prince, in an eastern dress of most unexceptionable fashion, and with an exceedingly oriental looking "travelling equipage."

Arrived at Alexandria, after passing successfully through the first scrutiny of the crowd of loungers at landing, he was hospitably received by a kind friend, who, the better to blind the inquisitive eyes of servants and visitors, lodged him in an out-house, "where he could revel in the utmost freedom of life and manners," and forthwith commenced his training under the direction of a *Shaykh*, to revive his recollections of religious ablution, to get himself somewhat up again in the Koran, and to renew his acquaintance with the act of prostration. As a wider and more general school of oriental manners, he availed himself of the bazaars, cafes, mosques, baths, and other places of public resort.

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\* Indeed Burckhardt passed through precisely the same ordeal which Mr. Burton underwent;—having prepared himself in England to personify an Oriental, and making the whole pilgrimage in that capacity. His thorough knowledge of Arabic and perfect familiarity with Oriental life, enabled him to do so with success.

"After a month's hard work at Alexandria, I prepared to assume the character of a wandering Dervish, after reforming my title from 'Mirza' to 'Shaykh' Abdullah. A reverend man, whose name I do not care to quote, some time ago initiated me into his order, the Kadiriyah, under the high-sounding name of Bismillah-Shah : and, after a due period of probation, he graciously elevated me to the proud position of a Murshid in the mystic craft. I was therefore sufficiently well acquainted with the tenets and practices of these Oriental Freemasons. No character in the Moslem world is so proper for disguise as that of the Dervish. It is assumed by all ranks, ages, and creeds ; by the nobleman who has been disgraced at court, and by the peasant who is too idle to till the ground ; by Dives, who is weary of life, and by Lazarus, who begs bread from door to door. Further, the Dervish is allowed to ignore ceremony and politeness, as one who ceases to appear upon the stage of life ; he may pray or not, marry or remain single as he pleases, be respectable in cloth of frieze as in cloth of gold, and no one asks him—the chartered vagabond—Why he comes here ? or Wherefore he goes there ? He may wend his way on foot alone, or ride his Arab steed followed by a dozen servants ; he is equally feared without weapons, as swaggering through the streets armed to the teeth. The more haughty and offensive he is to the people, the more they respect him ; a decided advantage to the traveller of choleric temperament. In the hour of imminent danger he has only to become a maniac, and he is safe ; a madman in the East, like a notably eccentric character in the West, is allowed to say or do whatever the spirit directs. Add to this character a little knowledge of medicine, a " moderate skill in magic and a reputation for caring for nothing but study and books, together with capital sufficient to save you from the chance of starving, and you appear in the East to peculiar advantage. The only danger of the 'Path' is, that the Dervish's ragged coat not unfrequently covers the cut-throat, and if seized in the society of such a 'brother,' you may reluctantly become his companion, under the stick or on the stake. For be it known, Dervishes are of two orders, the Sharai, or those who conform to religion, and the Be-Sharai, or Luti, whose practices are hinted at by their own tradition that 'he we daurna name' once joined them for a week, but at the end of that time left them in dismay, and returned to whence he came."—Vol. i. pp. 20-22.

His next step was to provide a passport in his new capacity, having neglected to take this precaution before leaving England. This, after disbursing a dollar, he obtained from the English consul at Alexandria, (not without difficulty, and, after much unclean dressing and an unlimited expenditure of broken English,) in the capacity of "an

Indo-British subject named Abdullah, by profession a doctor."

It was not until now, however, that the real difficulty of the case began, as the following humorous scene, which we cannot bring ourselves to curtail, will sufficiently explain:—

"My new passport would not carry me without the Zabit or Police Magistrate's counter-signature, said the consul. Next day I went to the Zabi, who referred me to the Muhafiz (Governor) of Alexandria, at whose gate I had the honour of squatting at least three hours, till a more compassionate clerk vouchsafed the information that the proper place to apply to was the Diwan Kharijiyeh (the Foreign Office). Thus a second day was utterly lost. On the morning of the third I started, as directed, for the palace, which crowns the Headland of Figs. It is a huge and couthless shell of building in parallelogrammic form containing all kinds of public offices in glorious confusion, looking with their glaring white washed faces upon a central court, where a few leafless wind-rung trees seem struggling for the breath of life in an eternal atmosphere of clay, dust, and sun-blaze.

"The first person I addressed was a Kawwas or police officer, who, coiled comfortably up in a bit of shade fitting his person like a robe, was in full enjoyment of the Asiatic 'Kaif.' Having presented the consular certificate and briefly stated the nature of my business, I ventured to inquire what was the right course to pursue for a visa.

"They have little respect for Dervishes, it appears, at Alexandria!

"M'adri—'Don't know,' growled the man of authority without moving anything but the quantity of tongue necessary for articulation.

"Now there are three ways of treating Asiatic officials,—by bribe, by bullying or by bothering them with a dogged perseverance into attending to you and your concerns. The latter is the peculiar province of the poor; moreover, this time I resolved, for other reasons, to be patient. I repeated my question in almost the same words. Ruh! 'Be off,' was what I obtained for all reply. But this time the question went so far as to open his eyes. Still I stood twirling the paper in my hands, and looking very humble and very persevering, till a loud Ruh ya Kalb! 'Go O dog!' converted into a responsive curse the little speech I was preparing about the brotherhood of El-Islam and the mutual duties obligatory on true believers. I then turned away slowly and fiercely, for the next thing might have been a cut with the Kurbaj, and, by the hammer of Thor! British flesh and blood could never have stood that.

"After which satisfactory scene,—for satisfactory it was in one

sense, proving the complete fitness of the Dervish's dress,—I tried a dozen other promiscuous sources of information,—policemen, grooms, scribes, donkey boys, and idlers in general. At length, wearied of patience, I offered a soldier some pinches of tobacco, and promised him an oriental sixpence if he would manage the business for me. The man was interested by the tobacco and the pence; he took my hand, and inquiring the while he went along, led me from place to place, till, mounting a grand staircase, I stood in the presence of Abbas Effendi, the governor's Naib, or deputy.

"It was a little, whey-faced, black-bearded Turk, coiled up in the usual conglomerate posture upon a calico covered divan, at the end of a long bare large-windowed room. Without deigning even to nod the head, which hung over his shoulder with transcendent listlessness and affectation of pride in answer to my salams and benedictions, he eyed me with wicked eyes, and faintly ejaculated 'Min ent?' Then hearing that I was a Dervish and doctor—he must be an Osmanli Voltairian, that little Turk—the official snorted a contemptuous snort. He condescendingly added, however, that the proper source to seek was 'Taht,' which meaning simply 'below,' conveyed rather imperfect information in a topographical point of view to a stranger.

"At length, however, my soldier guide found out that a room in the custom-house bore the honourable appellation of 'Foreign Office.' Accordingly I went there, and, after sitting at least a couple of hours at the bolted door in the noon-day sun, was told, with a fury which made me think I had sinned, that the officer in whose charge the department was, had been presented with an olive branch in the morning, and consequently that business was not to be done that day. The angry-faced official communicated the intelligence to a large group of Anadolian, Caramanian, Boshniac, and Roumelian Turks,—sturdy, undersized, broad-shouldered, bare-legged, splay-footed, horny-fisted, dark-browed, honest-looking mountaineers, who were lounging about with long pistols and yataghans stuck in their broad sashes, head-gear composed of immense tarbooshes with proportionate turbans coiled round them, and two or three suits of substantial clothes, even at this season of the year, upon their shoulders.

"Like myself they had waited some hours, but they were not patient under disappointment: they bluntly told the angry official that he and his master were a pair of idlers, and the curses that rumbled and gurgled in their hairy throats as they strode towards the door, sounded like the growling of wild beasts.

"Thus was another day truly orientally lost. On the morrow, however, I obtained permission, in the character of Dr. Abdullah, to visit any part of Egypt I pleased, and to retain possession of my dagger and pistols."—Vol. i. pp. 28-33.

The reason of all this self-imposed trouble and humiliation will, of course, be apparent. It was necessary, in order to preserve his incognito, and to guard against the manifold hazards of detection. In those primitive lands, where gossip is a part of the business of life, personal intelligence travels rapidly, and our pilgrim, had he tried to provide himself, as he might easily have done, with the necessary papers through any of the ordinary corrupt channels, would be exposed at any moment of his adventurous journey, to find that "full particulars" had been telegraphed before him on his way by the very official who was lax enough to take his money for a fraudulent transport, but too religious to permit the holy place to be profaned by the glance of an unbelieving eye.

A word as to his personal preparations for the journey:—

"Then I had to provide myself with certain necessities for the way. These were not numerous. The silver-mounted dressing-case is here supplied by a rag containing a miswak, a bit of soap and a comb (wooden), for bone and tortoiseshell are not, religiously speaking, correct. Equally simple was my wardrobe; a change or two of clothing. The only article of canteen description was a zemzemiyah, a goat-skin water-bag, which communicates to its contents, especially when new, a ferruginous aspect and a wholesome, though hardly an attractive flavour of tauno-gelatine. This was a necessary; to drink out of a tumbler, possibly fresh from pig-eating lips, would have entailed a certain loss of reputation. For bedding and furniture I had a coarse Persian rug—which, besides being couch, acts as chair, table, and oratory—a cotton-stuffed chintz-covered pillow, a blanket in case of cold, and a sheet, which does duty for tent and mosquito curtains in nights of heat. As shade is a convenience not always procurable, another necessary was a huge cotton umbrella of Eastern make, brightly yellow, suggesting the idea of an overgrown marigold. I had also a substantial housewife, the gift of a kind friend; it was a roll of canvas, carefully soiled, and garnished with needles and thread, cobbler's wax, buttons, and other such articles. These things were most useful in lands where tailors abound not; besides which, the sight of a man darning his coat or patching his slippers teems with pleasing ideas of humility. A dagger, a brass inkstand and penholder stuck in the belt, and a mighty rosary, which on occasion might have been converted into a weapon of offence, completed my equipment. I must not omit to mention the proper method of carrying money, which in these lands should never be entrusted to box or bag. A common cotton purse secured in a breast pocket,

(for Egypt now abounds in that civilized animal the pickpocket.) contained silver pieces and small change. My gold, of which I carried twenty-five sovereigns, and papers, were committed to a substantial leathern belt of Maghrabi manufacture, made to be strapped round the waist under the dress. This is the Asiatic method of concealing valuables, and a more civilised one than ours in the last century, when Roderic Random and his companion, 'sewed their money between the lining and the waistband of their breeches, except some loose silver for immediate expense on the road.' The great inconvenience of the belt is its weight, especially where dollars must be carried, as in Arabia, causing chafes and inconvenience at night. Moreover, it can scarcely be called safe. In dangerous countries wary travellers will adopt surer precautions.

"A pair of common native khurjin or saddle-bags contained my wardrobe, the 'bed,' readily rolled up into a bundle, and for a medicine chest I bought a pea-green box with red and yellow flowers, capable of standing falls from a camel twice a day."—Vol. i. pp. 34-39.

In this guise Haji Abdullah set sail as a third class passenger in the Nile boat for Cairo. His adventures upon the river are very graphically and well described, but we must not suffer ourselves to be seduced into loitering too long over the preliminaries of the real subject of the book, however interesting and amusing in themselves. At Cairo he met as a fellow-lodger, a shrewd Alexandrian wandering merchant, Huji Wali, who had also been his fellow-passenger on the Nile. From this experienced traveller he received some very important suggestions, which led to his materially modifying his plans. Haji Wali appears to have been somewhat of an *esprit fort*, and was entirely unencumbered, not only by prejudices, but it would seem by definite opinions of any kind. He advised Mr. Burton, in the first place, to lay aside the Dervish's gown, the large blue pantaloons, the short shirt, and every mark of connection with Persia or the Persians. No race is so unpopular in the East; and a traveller of that race would hardly fail to get into trouble. In Egypt they are hated and cursed on national grounds; in Arabia they are beaten and abused as heretics, and everywhere they are entirely without hope of sympathy or assistance. After long consultation, he resolved to put himself before the public as a *Pathan*, (the Indian designation of the Afghans,) born however in India



and long resident at Rangoon. This character to be sustained satisfactorily, required that the bearer should be acquainted with Persian, Hindostani and Arabic, all which languages Mr. Burton speaks fluently.

Secondly, he insisted on the propriety of his sinking as much as possible the character of the Dervish, and he advised him to put forward in preference the profession of an Indian doctor, travelling under a vow to visit all the holy places in Islam. It would be entirely out of keeping, the Haji well observed, with the profession of a reverend dervish to busy himself about those questions of politics or statistics regarding which Mr. Burton was so naturally anxious to obtain information; and the attempt would be sure to provoke suspicion. Henceforth, in conformity with this shrewd suggestion, our pilgrim appears in the mixed character of *Haji* (pilgrim) *Shaykh* (priestly personage) and *Hakim* (physician). His description of the eastern practice of physic is extremely amusing.

“When the mob has raised you to fame, patients of a better class will slowly appear on the scene. After some coquetting about ‘etiquette,’ whether you are to visit them, or they are to call upon you, they make up their minds to see you, and to judge with their eyes whether you are to be trusted or not; whilst you, on your side, set out with the determination that they shall at once cross the Rubicon,—in less classical phrase, swallow your drug. If you visit the house, you insist upon the patient’s servants attending you; he must also provide and pay an ass for your conveyance, no matter if it be only to the other side of the street. Your confidential man accompanies you, primed for replies to the ‘fifty searching questions’ of the ‘servant’s hall.’ You are lifted off the saddle tenderly, as nurses dismount their charges, when you arrive at the gate, and you waddle up stairs with dignity. Arrived at the sick room, you salute those present with a general ‘peace be upon you!’ to which they respond, ‘and upon you be the peace and the mercy of Allah, and his blessing!’ To the invalid you say, ‘There is nothing the matter, please Allah, except the health;’ to which the proper answer—for here every sign of ceremony has its countersign—is, ‘May Allah give thee health!’ You then sit down, and acknowledge the presence of the company by raising your right hand to your lips and forehead, bowing the while circularly; each individual returns the civility by a similar gesture. Then inquiry about the state of your health ensues. Then you are asked what refreshment you will take: you studiously mention something not likely to be in the house, but at last you rough it with a pipe and a cup of



coffee. Then you proceed to the patient, who extends his wrist, and asks you what his complaint is. Then you examine his tongue, you feel his pulse, you look learned, and—he is talking all the time—after hearing a detailed list of all his ailments, you gravely discover them, taking for the same as much praise to yourself as does the practising phrenologist, for a similar simple exercise of the reasoning faculties. The disease, to be respectable, must invariably be connected with one of the four temperaments, or the four elements, or the ‘humours of Hippocrates.’ Cure is easy, but it will take time, and you, the doctor, require attention; any little rudeness it is in your power to punish by an alteration in the pill, or the powder, and, so unknown is professional honour, that none will brave your displeasure. If you would pass for a native practitioner, you must then proceed to a most uncomfortable part of your visit, bargaining for fees. Nothing more effectually arouses suspicion than disinterestedness in a doctor. I once cured a rich Hazramaut merchant of rheumatism, and neglected to make him pay for treatment; he carried off one of my coffee cups, and was unceasingly wondering where I came from. So I made him produce five piastres, a shilling, which he threw upon the carpet, cursing Indian avarice. ‘You will bring on another illness,’ said my friend, the Haji when he heard of it.”—Vol. i. pp. 76-79.

His adventures at Cairo, and across the desert, though remarkably well described, have less of novelty than the part of the book devoted to the details of the pilgrimage, which may be said to commence at Suez, with his embarkation in the Pilgrim-ship for Yambu. He formed at this port an acquaintance with a party of travellers bound to the same destination, over whom, by judiciously yielding to their request for a loan, he obtained what afterwards proved a most serviceable influence; and although one of them, a sharp precocious Egyptian boy, named Mohammed, was alarmed by the sight of a sextant which Mr. Burton carried, and for a moment seemed to penetrate his disguise, yet Mr. Burton had so effectually imposed upon the rest by his skill in high Moslem theology, and by his otherwise unexceptionable “making up,” that they unanimously scouted the presumptuous sceptic as “a fakir, an owl, a cut-off one, a stranger, and a Wahhabi, for daring to impugn the faith of a brother believer.” Still the suspicion itself was enough to show the self-called pilgrim the perilous uncertainty in which he stood. He resolved with a sigh to part with the sextant, important as he felt it to be for his explorations, and the more effectually to lull all doubts of his orthodoxy, he put

on an extra look of piety, and prayed five times a day for nearly a week afterwards!

After considerable delay and some embarrassment about a passport at Suez, the pilgrim at length succeeded in securing a passage on board the *Silk el Zahab*, or "*Golden Wire*;" the chief agent in the transaction being one of the party alluded to above, and known by the expressive appellation, *Saad el Jinni*, "*Saad the Devil*."

"Our Pilgrim Ship, the *Silk el Zahab*, or the '*Golden Wire*,' was a *Sambuk*, of about 400 *ardébs* (fifty tons), with narrow wedge-like bows, a clean water line, a sharp keel, undecked, except upon the poop, which was high enough to act as a sail in a gale of wind. She carried two masts, imminently raking forward, the main considerably larger than the mizen; the former was provided with a huge triangular latine, very deep in the tack, but the second sail was unaccountably wanting. She had no means of reefing, no compass, no log, no sounding lines, nor even the suspicion of a chart; and in her box-like cabin and ribbed hold there was a something which savoured of close connection between her model and that of the Indian *Toni*. Such, probably were the craft which carried old *Sesostris* across the Red Sea to *Dire*; such the cruisers which once every three years left *Ezion-Geber* for *Tarshish*; such the transports of which 130 were required to convey *Ælius Gallus*, with his 10,000 men; and—the East moves slowly—such most probably in A. D. 1900 will be the '*Golden Wire*,' which shall convey future pilgrims from Suez to *El-Hejaz*. '*Bakhshish*' was the last as well as the first odious sound I heard in Egypt. The owner of the shore-boat would not allow us to climb the sides of our vessel before paying him his fare, and when we did so, he asked for *Bakhshish*. If Easterns would only imitate the example of Europeans,—I never yet saw an Englishman give *Bakhshish* to a soul,—the nuisance would soon be done away with. But on this occasion all my companions complied with the request, and at times it is unpleasant to be singular. The first look at the interior of our vessel showed a hopeless sight; for *Ali Murad*, the greedy owner, had promised to take sixty passengers in the hold, but had stretched the number to ninety-seven. Piles of boxes and luggage in every shape and form filled the ship from stem to stern, and a torrent of *Hajis* were pouring over the sides like ants into the Indian sugar-basin. The poop, too, where we had taken our places, was covered with goods, and a number of pilgrims had established themselves there by might, not by right.

"Presently, to our satisfaction, appeared *Saad the Devil*, equipped as an able seaman, and looking most unlike the proprietor of two large boxes full of valuable merchandise. This energetic individual instantly prepared for action. With our little party to back him,

he speedily cleared the poop of intruders and their stuff by the simple process of pushing or rather throwing them off it into the hold below. We then settled down as comfortably as we could; three Syrians, a married Turk with his wife and family, the rais or captain of the vessel, with a portion of his crew, and our seven selves, composing a total of eighteen human beings, upon a space certainly not exceeding 10 feet by 8. The cabin—a miserable box about the size of the poop, and three feet high—was stuffed, like the hold of a slave ship, with fifteen wretches, children and women, and the other ninety-seven were disposed upon the luggage or squatted on the bulwarks. Having some experience in such matters, and being favoured by fortune, I found a spare bed-frame slung to the ship's side; and giving a dollar to its owner, a sailor—who flattered himself that, because it was his, he would sleep upon it,—I instantly appropriated it, preferring any hardship outside to the condition of a packed herring inside the place of torment.”—Vol. i. pp. 276-279.

Even at the risk of detaining the reader too long from the Holy Land, we must transcribe the following description of an oriental row within the scanty precincts of a pilgrim ship.

“The first thing to be done after gaining standing-room was to fight for greater comfort; and never a Holyhead packet in the olden time showed a finer scene of pugnacity than did our pilgrim ship. A few Turks, ragged old men from Anatolia and Caramania, were mixed up with the Maghrabis, and the former began the war by contemptuously elbowing and scolding their wild neighbours. The Maghrabis, under their leader, ‘Maula Ali,’ a burly savage, in whom I detected a ridiculous resemblance to an old and well-remembered schoolmaster, retorted so willingly that in a few minutes nothing was to be seen but a confused mass of humanity, each item indiscriminately punching and pulling, scratching and biting, butting and trampling whatever was obnoxious to such operations, with cries of rage, and all the accompaniments of a proper fray. One of our party on the poop, a Syrian, somewhat incautiously leapt down to aid his countrymen by restoring order. He sank immediately below the surface of the living mass; and when we fished him out, his forehead was cut open, half his beard had disappeared, and a fine sharp set of teeth belonging to some Maghrabi had left their mark in the calf of his leg. The enemy showed no love of fair play, and never appeared contented unless five or six of them were setting upon a single man. This made matters worse. The weaker of course drew their daggers, and a few bad wounds were soon given and received. In a few minutes five men were completely disabled, and the victors began to dread the consequences of their victory.

"Then the fighting stopped, and as many could not find places, it was agreed that a deputation should wait upon Ali Murad, the owner, to inform him of the crowded state of the vessel. After keeping us in expectation at least three hours he appeared in a row-boat, and, preserving a respectful distance, informed us that any one who pleased might leave the ship and take back his fare. This left the case exactly as it was before; none would abandon his party to go on shore: so Ali Murad was rowed off towards Suez, giving us a parting injunction to be good, and not fight; to trust in Allah, and that Allah would make all things easy to us. His departure was the signal for a second fray, which in its accidents differed a little from the first. During the previous disturbance we kept our places with weapons in our hands. This time we were summoned by the Maghrabis to relieve their difficulties, by taking about half a dozen of them on the poop. Saad the Devil at once rose with an oath, and threw amongst us a bundle of 'Nebut'—goodly ashen staves six feet long, thick as a man's wrist, well greased, and tried in many a rough bout. He shouted to us 'Defend yourselves if you dont wish to be the meat of the Maghrabis!' and to the enemy 'Dogs and sons of dogs! now shall you see what the children of the Arab are,'—'I am Omar of Daghistan!' 'I am Abdullah the son of Joseph!' 'I am Saad the Devil!' we exclaimed, 'renowning it' by this display of name and patronymic. To do the enemy justice, they showed no sign of flinching; they swarmed towards the poop like angry hornets, and encouraged each other with loud cries of 'Allah akbar!' But we had a vantage ground about four feet above them, and their palm-sticks and short daggers could do nothing against our terrible quarter-staves. In vain the 'Jacquerie' tried to scale the poop and to overpower us by numbers; their courage only secured them more broken heads.

"At first I began to lay on load with *main morte*, really fearing to kill some one with such a weapon; but it soon became evident that the Maghrabis' heads and shoulders could bear and did require the utmost exertion of strength. Presently a thought struck me. A large earthen jar full of drinking water,—in its heavy frame of wood the weight might have been 100 lbs.,—stood upon the edge of the poop, and the thick of the fray took place beneath. Seeing an opportunity I crept up to the jar, and, without attracting attention, by a smart push with the shoulder rolled it down upon the swarm of assailants. The fall caused a shriller shriek to rise above the ordinary din, for heads, limbs, and bodies were sorely bruised by the weight, scratched by the broken pots-herds, and wetted by the sudden discharge. A fear that something worse might be forthcoming made the Maghrabis shrink off towards the end of the vessel. After a few minutes, we, sitting in grave silence, received a deputation of individuals in white-brown Burnooses, spotted and striped with what Mephistopheles calls a 'curious juice.' They solicited peace, which we granted upon the

condition that they would bind themselves to keep it. Our heads, shoulders, and hands were penitentially kissed, and presently the fellows returned to bind up their hurts in dirty rags."—Vol. i. pp. 281-285.

The miseries of such a voyage, with all its delays and interruptions, may well be imagined. Mr. Burton might have avoided most of it by hiring a ship for himself. But he wished to see pilgrim life in all its unsophisticated ruggedness; he wished, too, to avoid the risk of suspicion consequent on too great exclusiveness; and the (for a Haji,) very lavish expenditure—£40 or £50—on such an object, would go far to arouse doubts as to the genuineness of his pretensions.

The voyage from Suez to Yambu, a sea-port on the eastern coast of the Red Sea, occupied twelve days; and on the 18th of July our pilgrim set out as one of the ordinary caravan for Bir-Abbas, whence, on the 22nd of the same month, they commenced their route under all the glare of a July sun in the Desert, to Medinah. On the 25th, they reached that sanctuary of the world of Islam.

"Half an hour after leaving the 'blessed valley' we came to a huge flight of steps roughly cut in a long broad line of black scoriaceous basalt. This is called the Mudarraaj or flight of steps over the western ridge of the so-called El Harratain. It is holy ground; for the prophet spoke well of it. Arrived at the top we passed through a lane of black scoria, with steep banks on both sides, and after a few minutes a full view of the city suddenly opened upon us.

"We halted our beasts as if by word of command. All of us descended, in imitation of the pious of old, and sat down, jaded and hungry as we were, to feast our eyes with a view of the Holy City. 'O Allah! this is the Haram (sanctuary) of the Prophet; make it to us a protection from hell fire, and a refuge from eternal punishment! O open the gates of thy mercy, and let us pass through them to the land of joy!' and 'O Allah, bless the last of Prophets, the seal of prophecy, with blessings in number as the stars of heaven, and the waves of the sea, and the sands of the waste—bless him, O Lord of Might and Majesty, as long as the corn field and the date grove continue to feed mankind!' And again, 'Live for ever, O most excellent of Prophets!—live in the shadow of happiness during the hours of night and the times of day, whilst the bird of the tamarisk (the dove) moaneth like the childless mother, whilst the west wind bloweth gently over the hills of Nejd, and the lightning flasheth bright in the firmament of El Hejaz!' Such

were the poetical exclamations that rose all around me, showing how deeply tinged with imagination becomes the language of the Arab under the influence of strong passion or religious enthusiasm. I now understood the full value of a phrase in the Moslem ritual, 'And when his (the pilgrim's) eyes *fall upon the trees of El Medinah*, let him raise his voice and bless the Prophet with the choicest of blessings.' In all the fair view before us, nothing was more striking, after the desolation through which we had passed, than the gardens and orchards about the town. It was impossible not to enter into the spirit of my companions, and truly I believe that for some minutes my enthusiasm rose as high as theirs."—Vol. ii. pp. 24-7.

Mr. Burton took up his abode in the house of Shaykh Hamid, one of his travelling companions, where he remained during the whole period of his stay at Medinah. His diary of life at Medinah is too curious to be overlooked.

"At dawn we arose, washed, prayed, and broke our fast upon a crust of stale bread, before smoking a pipe, and drinking a cup of coffee. Then it was time to dress, to mount, and to visit the Haram in one of the holy places outside the city. Returning before the sun became intolerable, we sat together, and with conversation, shishas and chibouques, coffee, and cold water perfumed with mastich-smoke, we whiled away the time till our *ariston*, an early dinner, which appeared at the primitive hour of 11 A.M. The meal, here called El Ghada, was served in the *majlis* on a large copper tray, sent from the upper apartments. Ejaculating 'Bismillah'—the Moslem grace—we all sat round it, and dipped equal hands in the dishes set before us. We had usually unleavened bread, different kinds of meat and vegetable stews, and at the end of the first course plain boiled rice, eaten with spoons; then came the fruits, fresh dates, grapes, and pomegranates. After dinner I used invariably to find some excuse—such as the habit of a 'Kaylulah' (mid-day siesta) or the being a 'Saudawi,' or person of melancholy temperament, to have a rug spread in the dark passage behind the *majlis*, and there to lie reading, dozing, smoking or writing, *en cachette*, in complete *deshabille* all through the worst part of the day, from noon to sunset. Then came the hour for receiving or paying visits. We still kept up an intimacy with Omar Effendi, and Saad the Devil, although Salih Skakkar and Amm Jemal, either disliking our society, or perhaps thinking our sphere of life too humble for their dignity, did not appear once in Hamid's house. The evening prayers ensued, either at home or in the Haram, followed by our *Asha* 'deipnon,' or supper, another substantial meal like the dinner, but more plentiful, of bread, meat, vegetables, plain rice and fruits, concluding with the invari-



able pipes and coffee. To pass our *soirée*, we occasionally dressed in common clothes, shouldered a *nebût*, and went to the *café*; sometimes on festive occasions we indulged in a *Taatumah* (or *Itmiyah*), a late supper of sweetmeats, pomegranates and dried fruits. Usually we sat upon mattresses spread upon the ground in the open air at the *Shaykh's* door, receiving evening visits, chatting, telling stories, and making merry, till each, as he felt the approach of the drowsy god, sank down into his proper place, and fell asleep."—Vol. ii. 48-51.

The note-taking alluded to in the above passage was not without its peril. His note-book was composed of long slips of paper, and made to fit in the breast of his gown without being seen. At first he wrote his notes in Arabic, in order to avoid the risk of discovery; but after a time, emboldened by impunity, he continued them in English. In all cases, however, they were made with great caution and privacy.

The holiness of El Medinah in the eyes of devout Moslems is, of course, drawn from its connection with their Prophet's history, and from the memorials of him which it contains. The chief of these is his tomb, about which, as a centre, the whole cycle of Moslem devotion revolves. The *Masjid el Nabawi*, or Prophet's Mosque, which encloses the tomb, is one of the two chief Sanctuaries of Islam; and in the eyes of the true Mahomedan is at least the second, if not the first, of the three most venerable temples in the world, the other two being the Mosque at Meccah and that at Jerusalem. A division of opinion exists among Moslem doctors as to the relative sanctity of Medinah and Meccah; but there is almost a consent in favour of the *Bait Allah*, or House of God, in the latter, while all admit that El Medinah is more venerable than any other part of Meccah, excepting only the *Bait Allah*.

The Prophet's Mosque at Medinah is an open parallelogram about 420 feet long by 340 broad, the court or central area being very spacious, and surrounded by a peristyle, with numerous rows of pillars.\* In the southern

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\* We may here notice a strange mistake of Mr. Burton's as to the relative size of the great churches of the world. He places St. Sophia's, now the Mosque at Constantinople, first upon the list; whereas it hardly deserves to be named at all in comparison with any of the great Western churches, and is scarcely one half the size of St. Peter's at Rome.



end of the building are collected all the relics to which its chief sources of venerableness are referable. The great object of veneration, of course, is the Prophet's Tomb, which stands in what is called the Hujrah, or chamber, from the circumstance of its having been Ayisha's room.

"It is an irregular square of from 50 to 55 feet in the S.E. corner of the building, and separated on all sides from the walls of the mosque by a passage about 26 feet broad on the S. side, and 20 on the eastern. The reason of this isolation has been before explained, and there is a saying of Mohammed's, 'O Allah cause not my tomb to become an object of idolatrous adoration! May Allah's wrath fall heavy upon the people who make the tombs of their prophets places of prayer!' Inside there are, or are supposed to be, three tombs facing the south, surrounded by stone walls without any aperture, or, as others say, by strong planking. Whatever this material may be, it is hung outside with a curtain, somewhat like a large four-post bed. The outer railing is separated by a dark narrow passage from the inner one, which it surrounds, and is of iron filagree painted of a vivid grass green,—with a view to the garden,—whilst carefully inserted in the verdure, and doubly bright by contrast, is the gilt or burnished brass work forming the long and graceful letters of the Suls character, and disposed into the Moslem creed, the profession of unity, and similar religious sentences. On the south side, for greater honour, the railing is plated over with silver, and silver letters are interlaced with it. This fence, which connects the columns and forbids passage to all men, may be compared to the baldacchino of Roman churches. It has four gates: that to the south is the Bab el Muwajjah; eastward is the gate of our Lady Fatimah; westward the Bab el Taubah, (of repentance,) opening into the Rauzah or garden, and to the north, the Bab el Shami or Syrian gate. They are constantly kept closed, except the fourth, which admits, into the dark narrow passage above alluded to, the officers who have charge of the treasures there deposited, and the eunuchs who sweep the floor, light the lamps, and carry away the presents sometimes thrown in here by devotees. In the southern side of the fence are three windows, holes about half a foot square, and placed from four to five feet above the ground; they are said to be between three and four cubits distance from the Prophet's head. The most westerly of these is supposed to front Mohammed's tomb, wherefore it is called the Shubak el Nabi, or the Prophet's window. The next, on the right as you front it, is Abubekr's, and the most easterly of the three is Omar's. Above the Hujrah is the Green Dome, surmounted outside by a large gilt crescent springing from a series of globes."—Vol. ii. pp. 72-4.

This chamber is said to contain the tombs not only of

Mahomet, but also of his two immediate successors, Abubekr and Omar. It is popularly believed now to contain only space for one other grave, which is reserved, they suppose, for Isa ben Maryam, (our Blessed Lord,) at his second coming upon earth. These tombs, however, are all screened off by the Kiswah, or brocaded curtain, with embroidered inscriptions, announcing that within are laid the Prophet and the first two caliphs. A large pearl rosary, moreover, and a peculiar ornament—a cluster of brilliant pearls, called Kaubab el Durri—are attached to the curtain, to indicate the precise spot where the body of the Prophet himself reposes.

The popular notion as to the Prophet's coffin being, by some ingenious contrivance, suspended in the air, is an example of the extent to which an error, once obtaining currency, may be maintained and perpetuated. There is not the least foundation in reality for such a notion; and it is conjectured by Niebuhr that it may possibly have obtained currency in the first instance through the impression conveyed to strangers by the rude drawings of the Hujrah sold to the pilgrims, in which all the laws of perspective are so utterly ignored, that the idea of the coffin's being suspended in the air might not unreasonably arise in the enthusiastic pilgrim's mind. Once created, this notion might remain long without correction. No visitor ever approached the tomb. Even when dust had accumulated upon it, it was removed not by the ordinary process of cleansing, but by letting down, through a hole in the roof, some man celebrated for his piety, to sweep the tomb with his beard! Most of the historians are entirely silent regarding its appearance, and the few accounts of it which have been preserved, can hardly be reconciled with each other. The most reliable seems to be that of El Samanhudi, quoted by Burckhardt; who says that beneath the brocaded curtain already described, is a square building of black stones, in the interior of which rest the tombs of Mahomet and his two successors, these tombs being deep holes, and the coffin which contains the remains of the prophet being cased with silver, and bearing the inscription, *Bismillah! Allahumma salli alayh!* (In the name of Allah! Allah have mercy on him!)

Besides the Prophet's Tomb, the Mosque contains various other objects and places of high veneration for the Moslem; as the place of the Angel Gabriel's Revelations; the

grave of the Lady Fatimah, (Mahomet's daughter); the memorials of the early martyrs of Islam, and those of the "Mothers of the Moslem," by which name are designated the fifteen wives of the Prophet. The colonnades of the open court, too, possess their own attraction for the devotees. There is the Pillar of Lots, the Weeping Pillar, the Pillar of Repentance, each of which enters into the circle of the pilgrim's laborious devotion. The Lady Fatimah's garden, and the puny date trees which it contains, are special objects of religious honour, and the fruit of these sacred trees is sold in infinitesimal quantities, and at a large price, to be carried home by the pilgrims.

How these, and all the other complicated details of the Ziyarat, (or visitation,) were punctiliously observed by our Haji, we shall best explain in his own words.

"But this is not the time for Tafarruj, or lionising. Shaykh Hamid warns me with a nudge, that other things are expected of a Zair. He leads me to the Bab el Salam, fighting his way through a troop of beggars, and inquires markedly if I am religiously pure. Then, placing our hands a little below and on the left of the waist, the palm of the right covering the back of the left, in the position of prayer, and beginning with the right feet, we pace slowly forwards down the line called the Muwajihat el Sharifah, or 'the Holy Fronting,' which, divided off by an aisle, runs parallel with the southern wall of the mosque. On my right hand walked the Shaykh, who recited aloud the following prayer, which I repeated after him. It is literally rendered, as, indeed, are all the formulæ, and the reader is requested to excuse the barbarous fidelity of the translation. 'In the name of Allah and in the Faith of Allah's Prophet! O Lord cause me to enter the entering of Truth, and cause me to issue forth the issuing of Truth, and permit me to draw near to thee, and make me a Sultan Victorious!' Then followed blessings upon the Prophet, and afterwards: 'O Allah! open to me the doors of thy mercy, and grant me entrance into it, and protect me from the Stoned Devil!'

"During this preliminary prayer we had passed down two-thirds of the Muwajihat el Sharifah. On the left hand is a dwarf wall, about the height of a man, painted with arabesques, and pierced with four small doors which open into the Muwajihat. In this barrier are sundry small erections, the niche called the Mihrab Sulaymani, the Mambar, or pulpit, and the Mihrab el Nabawi. The two niches are of beautiful mosaic, richly worked with various coloured marbles, and the pulpit is a graceful collection of slender columns, elegant tracery, and inscriptions admirably carved. Arrived at the western small door in the dwarf wall, we entered the

celebrated spot called El Rauzah, or the Garden, after a saying of the Prophet's, 'between my Tomb and my Pulpit is a Garden of the Gardens of Paradise.' On the north and west sides it is not divided from the rest of the portico; on the south lies the dwarf wall, and on the east it is limited by the west end of the lattice-work containing the tomb. Accompanied by my *Muzawwir* I entered the Rauzah, and was placed by him with the Mukabbariyah behind me, fronting Meccah, with my right shoulder opposite to and about twenty feet distant from the dexter pillar of the Prophet's Pulpit. There, after saying the afternoon prayers, I performed the usual two prostrations in honour of the temple, and at the end of them recited the 109th and the 112th chapters of the Koran—the 'Kul ya ayyuha'l Kafiruna,' and the 'Surat el Ikhlas, called also the 'Kul Huw Allah,' or the Declaration of Unity; and may be thus translated:

"1. 'Say, He is the one God!'

"2. 'The eternal God!'

"3. 'He begets not, nor is he begot,'

"4. 'And unto him the like is not.'

"After which was performed a single *Sujdah* of thanks, in gratitude to Allah for making it my fate to visit so holy a spot."—Vol. ii. pp. 62-67.

There is a great deal more of this strange mockery with which we shall not trouble the reader. It will be enough to say that, not only here, but in all the visitations of the holy places in the environs of Medinah, Haji Abdullah was found amongst the most laborious and the most exact of the crowd of worshippers. His narrative contains a faithful translation of all the prayers, salutations, testifications, ejaculations, and other formularies which he recited at their respectively prescribed places of pilgrimage!

After he had thus performed all the duties of a good Zair, he was at liberty to indulge a little in sight-seeing. For the full description of the Mosque, as well as for a very curious history of the building, with all its vicissitudes since the days of the Prophet, we must of course refer the reader to the volumes themselves. Mr. Burton has illustrated his description by a general plan of the city, a ground plan of the mosque, and several carefully executed lithographs. These are intended either to supply the defects of Burckhardt's illustrations, or to correct certain errors in them. Mr. Burton assures us that the views of the Holy City, such as they appear in our popular books, are ludicrously incorrect.

Mr. Burton entertains grave doubts as to the truth of

the popular belief which regards the Hujrah as the place of the Prophet's sepulchre. We must say, however, that the grounds of his scepticism are by no means conclusive.

"It must be remembered that a great tumult followed the announcement of the Prophet's death, when the people, as often happens, believing him to be immortal, refused to credit the report, and even Omar threatened destruction to any one who asserted it. Moreover the body was scarcely cold when the contest about the succession arose between the fugitives of Meccah and the auxiliaries of El Medinah: in the ardour of which, according to the Shiah, the house of Ali and Fatimah,—within a few feet of the spot where the tomb of the Prophet is now placed—was threatened with fire, and that Abubekr was elected caliph that same evening. If any one find cause to wonder that the last resting-place of a personage so important was not fixed for ever, he may find a parallel case in El Medinah. To quote no other, three places claim the honour of containing the Lady Fatimah's mortal spoils, although one might suppose that the daughter of the Prophet and the mother of the Imams would not be laid in an unknown grave. My reasons for incredulity are the following:

"1. From the earliest days the shape of the Prophet's tomb has never been generally known in El Islam. For this reason it is that graves are made convex in some countries, and fiat in others: had there been a Sunnat, this would not have been the case.

"2. The discrepant accounts of the learned. El Samanbudi, perhaps the highest authority, contradicts himself. In one place he describes the coffin; in another he expressly declares that he entered the Hujrah when it was being repaired by Kaid-bey, and saw in the inside three deep graves, but no traces of tombs. Either, then, the mortal remains of the Prophet had—despite Moslem superstition—mingled with the dust, (a probable circumstance after nearly 900 years' interment,) or, what is more likely, they had been removed by the Shiah schismatics, who for centuries had charge of the sepulchre.

"3. And lastly, I cannot but look upon the tale of the blinding light which surrounds the Prophet's tomb, and now universally believed upon the authority of the attendant eunuchs, who must know its falsehood, as a priestly gloss intended to conceal a defect."—Vol. ii. pp. 108-11.

The mosque of El Medinah was first built by Mahomet himself, on the spot where his she-camel, El Haseva, knelt down by order of heaven. It has since been four times rebuilt, receiving successive additions from the progressive piety or munificence of the Moslem world. To it the citizens of Medinah (who number about 16,000, or

18,000,) are almost entirely indebted for means of subsistence. The yearly number of pilgrims has decreased very much since the days of Lodovico Bartema, who estimates the Damascus caravan alone at 40,000. But it still amounts to many thousands annually. Mr. Burton supposes the pilgrims of the Damascus caravan to be about 7,000 of both sexes, and all ages; and although the absolute expenditure of each there must be something far below what it would be in a Western city, yet, relatively to the habits of the population, the total must be regarded as a proportionately important accession to their local resources. The arrival of the Damascus pilgrim caravan of 1853 is most graphically described by Mr. Burton.

"I arose in the morning and looked out from the windows of the *majlis*: the Barr el Munakhah, from a dusty waste dotted with a few Bedouins and hair tents, had assumed all the various shapes and the colours of a kaleidoscope. The eye was bewildered by the shifting of innumerable details, in all parts totally different from one another, thrown confusedly together in one small field; and, however jaded with sight-seeing, it dwelt with delight upon the vivacity, the variety, and the intense picturesqueness of the scene. In one night had sprung up a town of tents of every size, colour, and shape,—round, square, and oblong,—open and closed,—from the shawl lined and gilt-topped pavilion of the pacha, with all the luxurious appurtenances of the Haram, to its neighbour the little dirty green 'rowtie' of the tobacco-seller. They were pitched in admirable order: here ranged in a long line, where a street was required; there packed in dense masses, where thoroughfares were unnecessary. But how describe the utter confusion in the crowding, the bustling, and the vast variety and volume of sound? Huge white Syrian dromedaries, compared with those of El Hejaz appeared mere poney-camels, jingling large bells, and bearing shugdufs like miniature green tents, swaying and tossing upon their backs; gorgeous Takhtawan, or litters borne between camels or mules with scarlet and brass trappings; Bedouins bestriding naked-backed 'Deluls,' and clinging like apes to the hairy humps; Arnaut, Turkish, and Kurd irregular horsemen, fiercer looking in their mirth than Roman peasants in their rage; fainting Persian pilgrims, forcing their stubborn dromedaries to kneel, or dismounted grumbling from jaded donkeys; Kahwagis, sherbert sellers, and ambulant tabacconists crying their goods; country-people driving flocks of sheep and goats with infinite clamour through lines of horses fiercely snorting and rearing; towns-people seeking their friends; returned travellers exchanging affectionate salutes; devout Hajis jolting one another, running under the legs of camels, and tumbling over the tents' ropes in their hurry to reach the Haram;



cannon roaring from the citadel; shopmen, water-carriers and fruit vendors fighting over their bargains; boys bullying heretics with loud screams; a well-mounted party of fine old Arab Shaykhs of Hamidah clan, preceded by their varlets, performing the Arzah or war dance,—compared with which the Pyrenean bear's performance is grace itself,—firing their duck guns upwards, or blowing the powder into the calves of those before them, brandishing their swords, leaping frantically the while, with their bright-coloured rags floating in the wind, tossing their long spears tufted with ostrich feathers high in the air, reckless where they fall; servants seeking their masters, and masters their tents with vain cries of Ya Mohammed; grandees riding mules or stalking on foot, preceded by their crowd-beaters, shouting to clear the way;—here the loud shrieks of women and children, whose litters are bumping and rasping against one another;—there the low moaning of some poor wretch that is seeking a shady corner to die in: add a thick dust which blurs the outlines like a London fog, with a flaming sun that draws sparkles of fire from the burnished weapons of the crowd, and the brass balls of tent and litter; and—I doubt, gentle reader, that even the length, the jar, and the confusion of this description is adequate to its subject, or that any word-painting of mine can convey a just idea of the scene.”—Vol. ii. pp. 224-7.

Mr. Burton's description of the piety of the pilgrims, though very striking, is not so highly coloured as that which we find in other books of Eastern travel.

“In the evening I went with my friends to the Haram. The minaret galleries were hung with lamps, and the inside of the temple was illuminated. It was crowded with Hajis, amongst whom were many women, a circumstance which struck me from its being unusual. Some pious pilgrims, who had duly paid for the privilege, were perched upon ladders trimming wax candles of vast dimensions, others were laying up for themselves rewards in paradise, by performing the same office to the lamps; many were going through the ceremonies of Ziyarat, and not a few were sitting in different parts of the mosque apparently overwhelmed with emotion. The boys and the beggars were inspired with fresh energy, the Aghawat were gruffer, and surlier than I had ever seen them, and the young men about town walked and talked with a freer and an easier demeanour than usual. My old friends the Persians—there were about 1200 of them in the Hajj caravan—attracted my attention. The doorkeepers stopped them with curses as they were about to enter, and all claimed from each the sum of five piastres, whilst other Moslems are allowed to enter the mosque free. Unhappy men! they had lost all the Shiraz swagger, their mustachios drooped pitifully, their eyes would not look any one in the face, and not a head bore a cap stuck upon it crookedly. Whenever an



'Ajemi,' whatever might be his rank, stood in the way of an Arab or a Turk, he was rudely thrust aside, with abuse, muttered loud enough to be heard by all around. All eyes followed them as they went through the ceremonies of Ziyarat, especially as they approached the tombs of Abubekr and Omar,—which every man is bound to defile if he can,—and the supposed place of Fatimah's burial. Here they stood in parties, after praying before the Prophet's window: one read from a book the pathetic tale of the Lady's life, sorrows, and mourning death, whilst the others listened to him with breathless attention. Sometimes their emotion was too strong to be repressed. '*Ay Fatimah! Ay Mazlumah! Way! Way!*—O Fatimah! O thou injured one! Alas! alas!'—burst involuntarily from their lips, despite the danger of such exclamations, tears trickled down their hairy cheeks, and their brawny bosoms heaved with sobs. A strange sight it was to see rugged fellows, mountaineers perhaps, or the fierce Iliyat of the plains, sometimes weeping silently like children, sometimes shrieking like hysteric girls, and utterly careless to conceal a grief so coarse and grisly, at the same time so true and real, that we knew not how to behold it. Then the Satanic scowls with which they passed by or pretended to pray at the hated Omar's tomb! With what curses their hearts are belying those mouths full of blessings! How they are internally canonising Fayruz, and praying for his eternal happiness in the presence of the murdered man! Sticks and stones, however, and not unfrequently the knife and the sabre, have taught them the hard lesson of disciplining their feelings, and nothing but a furious contraction of the brow, a roll of the eye, intensely vicious, and a twitching of the muscles about the region of the mouth, denotes the wild storm of wrath within. They generally, too, manage to discharge some part of their passion in words. 'Hail Omar thou hog!' exclaims some fanatic Madani as he passes by the heretic—a demand more outraging than requiring a red-hot, black-north Protestant to bless the Pope. 'O Allah! *hell* him!' meekly responds the Persian, changing the benediction to a curse most intelligible to, and most delicious in his fellows' ears."—Vol. ii. pp. 249-52.

The personal expenditure of the pilgrims, however, is only one of the sources of the religious revenues of Medinah; sums of money, in the shape of alms, are forwarded annually from Constantinople and Cairo, and although Mr. Burton could not ascertain the exact amount, yet it is believed to be considerable. Bequests, donations, and other offerings have been made from time to time, and the treasury of the mosque, although not unfrequently plundered, or applied to state uses by the successive rulers of El Medinah, still possesses a certain accumulation of wealth, which is applied to the religious uses of the

Mosque and to the general maintenance of the establishment.

The head of this body is styled Shaykh El Haram, or "Chief of the Sanctuary." Formerly this officer was always an eunuch; but it is no longer so, and the present occupant of the post is Osman Pacha, who enjoys a salary of about 30,000 piastres a month. Almost all the other officials are eunuchs, although, generally speaking, they are married, and some of them have as many as three and four wives. Besides these, there are a number of free servants, called *Farrashin*, attached to the mosque. Almost all the middle and lower class of citizens belong to this order, and each, during his term of duty, receives a Ghazi, or twenty-two piastres for his services. Their duties are to trim lamps, to dust the building, to spread carpets, &c. The more menial offices are performed by a band of about fifty servitors, under an officer called *Shaykh el Sakka*, the chief of the water-carriers.

Besides this, which we may call the material establishment of the mosque, there is also a literary staff still more numerous; and to complete the connexions of the whole body of the citizens with the service of the mosque, Mr. Burton tells us that almost all who are not directly employed in its public service, at least qualify themselves to earn, or to eke out a livelihood as *Muzawwirs*, or what may be termed, religious ciceroni.

"They begin as boys to learn the formula of prayer, and the conducting of visitors, and partly by begging, partly by boldness, they often pick up a tolerable livelihood at an early age. The Muzawwir will often receive strangers into his house, as was done to me, and direct their devotions during the whole time of their stay. For this he requires a sum of money proportioned to his guests' circumstances, but this fee does not end the connection. If the Muzawwir visit the home of his Zair, he expects to be treated with the utmost hospitality, and to depart with a handsome present. A religious visitor will often transmit to his cicerone at Meccah and at El Medinah yearly sums to purchase for himself a mass at the Kaabah and the Prophet's Tomb. The remittance is usually wrapped up in paper, and placed in a sealed leathern bag, somewhat like a portfolio, upon which is worked the name of the person entitled to receive it. It is then placed in charge either of a trustworthy pilgrim, or of the public treasurer, who accompanies the principal caravans."—Vol. ii. p. 160.

From all this it will easily be inferred that commerce is at a discount in El Medinah.

“Without these advantages El Medinah would soon be abandoned to cultivators and Bedouins. Though commerce is here honourable, as everywhere in the East, business is ‘slack,’ because the higher classes prefer the idleness of administering their landed estates, and being servants to the mosque. I heard of only four respectable houses, El Isawi, El Shaab, Abdel Jawwad, and a family from El Shark. They all deal in grain, cloth, and provisions, and perhaps the richest have a capital of 20,000 dollars. Caravans in the cold weather are constantly passing between El Medinah and Egypt, but they are rather bodies of visitors to Constantinople than traders travelling for gain. Corn is brought from Jeddah by land, and imported into Yambu or El Rais, a port on the Red Sea, one day and a half’s journey from Safra. There is an active provision trade with the neighbouring Bedouins, and the Syrian Hajj supplies the citizens with apparel and articles of luxury—tobacco, dried fruits, sweetmeats, knives, and all that is included under the word ‘notions.’ There are few store-keepers, and their dealings are petty, because articles of every kind are brought from Egypt, Syria, and Constantinople. As a general rule, labour is exceedingly expensive, and at the visitation time a man will demand fifteen or twenty piastres from a stranger for such a trifling job as mending an umbrella. Handicraftsmen and artisans—carpenters, masons, locksmiths, potters and others, are either slaves or foreigners, mostly Egyptians. This proceeds partly from the pride of the people. They are taught from their childhood that the Madani is a favoured being, to be respected however vile or schismatic, and that the vengeance of Allah will fall upon any one who ventures to abuse, much more to strike him. They receive a stranger at the shop window with the haughtiness of Pachas, and take pains to show him by words as well as by looks, that they consider themselves as ‘good gentlemen as princes, only not so rich.’ Added to this pride are indolence, and the true Arab prejudice, which, even in the present day, prevents a Bedouin from marrying the daughter of an artisan. Like Castilians they consider labour humiliating to any but a slave; nor is this, as a clever French author remarks, by any means an unreasonable idea, since Heaven, to punish man for disobedience, caused him to eat daily bread by the sweat of his brow. Besides, there is degradation, moral and physical, in handiwork compared with the freedom of the desert. The loom and the file do not conserve courtesy and chivalry like the sword and spear; man extending his tongue, to use an Arab phrase, when a cuff and not a stab is to be the consequence of an injurious expression. Even the ruffian becomes polite in California, where his brother ruffian carries a revolver, and those European nations who were most polished when every

gentleman wore a rapier have become the rudest since Civilization disarmed them."—Vol. ii. pp. 265-68.

### A word on the dietary and domestic arrangements of the Madani.

"The citizens, despite their being generally in debt, manage to live well. Their cookery, like that of Meccah, has borrowed something from Egypt, Turkey, Syria, Persia, and India; like all Orientals they are exceedingly fond of clarified butter. I have seen the boy Mohammed drink off nearly a tumbler full, although his friends warned him that it would make him as fat as an elephant. When a man cannot enjoy clarified butter in these countries, it is considered a sign that his stomach is out of order, and all my excuses of a melancholic temperament were required to be in full play to prevent the infliction of fried meat swimming in grease, or that guest-dish, rice saturated with melted—perhaps I should say—rancid butter. The 'Samn' of El Hejaz, however, is often fresh, being brought in by the Bedouins; it has not therefore the foul flavour derived from the old and impregnated skin-bag which distinguishes the ghee of India. The house of a Madani in good circumstances is comfortable, for the building is substantial, and the attendance respectable. Black slave-girls here perform the complicated duties of servant-maids in England; they are taught to sew, to cook, and to wash, besides sweeping the house and drawing water for domestic use. Hasinah (the 'Charmer,' a decided misnomer,) costs from 40 to 50 dollars: if she be a mother, her value is less, but neat-handedness, propriety of demeanour, and skill in feminine accomplishments, raise her to 100 dollars, £25. A little black boy, perfect in all his points, and tolerably intelligent, costs about 1000 piastres; girls are dearer, and eunuchs fetch double that sum. The older the children become, the more their value diminishes, and no one would purchase, save under exceptional circumstances, an adult slave, because he is never parted with but for some incurable vice. The Abyssinian, mostly Galla, girls, so much prized because their skins are always cool in the hottest weather, are here rare; they seldom sell for less than 20%, and often fetch 60%. I never heard of a Jariyah Bayza, a white slave girl, being in the market at El Medinah: in Circassia they fetch from 100% to 400% prime cost, and few men in El Hejaz could afford so expensive a luxury. The bazaar at El Medinah is poor, and as almost all the slaves are brought from Meccah by the Jallabs, or drivers, after exporting the best to Egypt, the town receives only the refuse."—Vol. ii. pp. 268-272.

The reader will be curious, too, to learn something of the morality of the Sacred City of Islam.

"It is not to be believed that in a town garrisoned by Turkish troops, full of travelled traders, and which supports itself by plundering Hajis, the primitive virtues of the Arab could exist. The Meccans, a dark people, say of the Madani that their hearts are black as their skins are white. This is of course exaggerated; but it is not too much to assert that pride, pugnacity, a peculiar point of honour, and a vindictiveness of wonderful force and patience, are the only characteristic traits of Arab character which the citizens of El Medinah habitually display. Here you meet with scant remains of the chivalry of the desert. A man will abuse his guest, even though he will not dine without him, and would protect him bravely against an enemy. And words often pass lightly between individuals which suffice to cause a blood feud amongst Bedouins. The outward appearance of decorum is conspicuous amongst the Madani. There are no places where Corinthians dwell, as at Meccah, Cairo, and Jeddah. Adultery, if detected, would be punished by lapidation, according to the rigour of the Koranic law, and simple immorality by religious stripes, or, if of repeated occurrence, by expulsion from the city. But scandals seldom occur, and the women, I am told, behave with great decency. Abroad, they have the usual Moslem pleasures of marriage, lyings-in, circumcision feasts, holy visitations, and funerals. At home they employ themselves with domestic matters, and especially in scolding 'Hasinah' and 'Zaferan.' In this occupation they surpass even the notable English housekeeper of the middle orders of society—the latter being confined to 'knagging at' her slave, whereas the Arab lady is allowed an unbounded extent of vocabulary. At Shaykh Hamid's house, however, I cannot accuse the women of

"Swearing into strong shudders  
The immortal gods who heard them."

"They abused the black girls with unction, but without any violent expletives. At Meccah, however, the old lady in whose house I was living would, when excited by the melancholy temperament of her eldest son, and his irregular hours of eating, scold him in the grossest terms not unfrequently ridiculous in the extreme. For instance, one of her assertions was that he—the son—was the offspring of an immoral mother; which assertion, one might suppose, reflected not indirectly upon herself. So in Egypt I have frequently heard a father, when reproving his boy, address him by 'O dog, son of a dog!' and 'O spawn of an infidel—of a Jew—of a Christian.' Amongst the men of El Medinah I remarked a considerable share of hypocrisy. Their mouths were as full of religious salutations, exclamations, and hacknied quotations from the Koran as of indecency and vile abuse,—a point in which they resemble the Persians. As before observed, they preserve their reputation as the

sons of a holy city by praying only in public. At Constantinople they are by no means remarkable for sobriety. Intoxicating liquors, especially araki, are made in El Medinah only by the Turks : the citizens seldom indulge in this way at home, as detection by smell is imminent among a people of water-bibbers."—Vol. ii. pp. 280-84.

Mr. Burton had originally intended\* to proceed from El Medinah direct across to Muscat, from which city, in former times, a caravan regularly set out for the pilgrimage. Finding that this usage had long been discontinued, he proposed to undertake the journey in Bedouin fashion ; and had formed, in this view, a friendship with one of his fellow travellers from Yambu, called by the ominous name, Mujrim, or "the Sinful." Mujrim undertook to procure for him all possible information as to the route, and at last almost consented to be his travelling companion. But in the end, he frankly avowed that no traveller, not even a native Bedouin, could at that time safely undertake a journey in the proposed direction ; and as it was impossible to proceed alone, Mr. Burton reluctantly contented himself with the less adventurous route to Meccah. The details of this journey are reserved for his third and concluding volume.

In parting from this amusing and most instructive writer—incomparably the greatest master of Oriental life and manners since Mr. Lane—we must express our very sincere regret that so cultivated and liberal a scholar should have deformed more than one of his pages by coarse and vulgar sneers and insinuations, which must cause deep pain, not alone to every Catholic, but we might add, to almost every religious mind. We shall not stop to particularize the statements and expressions of which we complain. But their presence, as well as a certain vague and unavowed lightness of tone and sentiment on religious subjects, which occasionally makes itself felt rather than ostentatiously displays itself, have been a serious drawback on the otherwise unmixed pleasure with which we have read the *Pilgrimage to El Medinah*.

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ART. IV.—*Clément XIII. et Clément XIV.*, par le PERE DE RAVIGNAN,  
De la Compagnie de Jésus. Paris : Julien. Lanier et Cie. 1854.

IN a former number of this Journal, under the head of "Theory of Jesuit History," we speculated somewhat at large upon the features of Jesuit character and incidents of Jesuit life, which have given rise to such a diversity and conflict of opinion; and we ventured some timid notions of our own regarding that Society, which for the last three hundred years has filled the world with its action, its successes, its disasters, and finally its extinction and revival. In doing so we had occasion to notice, though very cursorily, Fr. Theiner's *Life of Clement XIV.*, the interest of which is necessarily concentrated upon the suppression of the Jesuits by that Pontiff, and while giving to the eminent author full credit for the spirit at once of candour and of charity in which we believe his work to have been undertaken, we felt it our duty to observe, that whether by a fatality attendant on the subject he had proposed to deal with, or by the mere imperfection of human nature, even in its finest developments, the book was of a character to lead to misconception, and give currency to error; that it was likely to work pain or pleasure in the wrong men, and be oftenest effective in the wrong places; that it would recoil on the friends of truth more damagingly than it could advance upon her enemies, and that it was peculiarly liable to perversion by the malignant and designing. In confirmation of our views upon the last particular, we had only to quote from the pamphlet of a Swiss ecclesiastic, named Leu, purporting to give the substance and spirit of Fr. Theiner's book, and which we are not called upon to notice further at present, the more especially as the author has made submission in the proper quarter upon other subjects, and may therefore be charitably presumed to have corrected some, at least, of his ideas upon this. It was our wish, however, in the few and possibly crude conceptions we drew together upon a subject embarrassed by so many difficulties, to have as broad a basis as might be for our theory, and therefore,



fearful of appearing to found it upon any one phase of Jesuit history, such as the pontificate of Clement XIV., and, moreover, not finding in Fr. Theiner's work any peculiarity of view it might be necessary to examine, as a new theory; we did not think it within the scope of our task at the moment to enter at large into the discussion of his work. Our own view, whatever it be worth, was nothing very original, ascribing, as it did, the fortunes, good and evil, of the society, the sympathy and antipathy it provoked, to its very constitutions and functions; treating its successes and disasters not as accidents of its position, but as conditions of its existence; on the simple ground that being a militant, and consequently, according to the slang of the time, an aggressive body, always in active service, and operating against all enemies of the Church and of authority generally, it could not fail to attract the hostility of every enemy, whether of religion or of order. This is the view taken by the Père de Ravignan in his "*Times of Clement XIII. and XIV.*," elicited by Fr. Theiner's work, rather than written in opposition to it, for the Père de Ravignan does not profess to argue but merely to narrate. Having laid down his thesis, which we shall come to presently, and which is, in truth, a contraction, perhaps we ought to say a condensation of our own, he proceeds to detail his facts, and remits their application to the discretion of the reader, a course he probably thinks most conformable to the spirit of the motto he has chosen for the book, "*Les Papes n'ont besoin que de la vérité.*"

The appearance of the work before us is undoubtedly due, as we have said, and as is admitted by Father de Ravignan, to the previous appearance of Fr. Theiner's history of Clement XIV. although the author disclaims any intention of putting it forward as a refutation of what is contained in that volume, and is unwilling that any one should attach a controversial or polemical character to his pages. It requires, however, a rather powerful faculty of abstraction to regard it precisely and to all intents in this light. To do the Père de Ravignan justice, and to enter fully into his ideas, that is not his view or expectation. Substantially, though not formally, his work is apologetic of the society in the latter days of its first existence, and is intended so to be, but without taking the shape of controversy, which almost always leads to a certain amount, however small, of recrimination and bitterness, not quite

compatible with a satisfactory investigation of truth. The painful impression created by the "*History of the Pontificate of Clement XIV.*," when it first appeared, was very general, and was of course shared by the Jesuits, who were most concerned. It arose, as far at least as we have had an opportunity of judging, not so much from anything actually written by Fr. Theiner, as from the suggestion to be collected, without much difficulty, from his manner, that he left something unwritten. There was allusion to documents missing, or mislaid, or mutilated, how, or by whom, not known, that might be made to tell a tale; it seemed to be insinuated, however unintentionally, that there had been something like a struggle between the author's charity and his candour, in dealing with the Jesuits; and the general effect of the entire was that certain matters were touched upon by Fr. Theiner in the prosecution of a painful duty, and that it might thus be inferred there were reasons for the dissolution of the society, other than the hostility it had provoked from the enemies of all society, or the enemies of the Church in particular. The Order, too, appeared to be made responsible, not only for its own acts or defaults, but for every indiscretion of its friends, and the Jesuits, who adhered to their institute in Russia, after the dissolution of the society, although they did so under pressure from the civil power, and, as was believed even at the time, with the sanction of the Pope, are treated, to say the least of it, severely in Fr. Theiner's *History*, and in such a way again, as to make the order, though extinct, accountable for the errors of a fraction of its members, supposing them to have erred, while no account is made of the unquestioning submission of the great majority, though it was very conspicuous and under great temptation. It could not exactly be said that facts were misstated or distorted by the distinguished narrator, but there was a certain disposition of light and shade, of costume, of drapery, of accessories generally, that quite changed the aspect and effect of the entire, and produced, we are completely willing to hope and believe, an incorrect impression of the spirit in which the work was designed and carried out. This, or something nearly resembling it, was the view taken of the publication by Father Rothaan, the late general of the society, as we learn from Fr. de Ravignan, and it was in obedience to a suggestion from his superior, that the

latter undertook the work before us. His view of the transactions preceding, and bringing about the dissolution of the society from the time that Pombal opened the campaign in Portugal to the publication of the Brief "*Dominus ac Redemptor*," is, we have already mentioned, nearly identical with the view put forward by ourselves, but which we are far from claiming as our own, and which the author has of course contracted to the space and period of Jesuit history with which it is conversant. His main object is to show that the dissolution of the society of Jesus was brought about by no vice of its organization, by no error doctrinal or moral in its teaching, by no relaxation, corruption, or lesser occasion for reform, but by the combined effort, and at that unhappy period, culminating power of its natural and immitigable enemies, from whom it never asked quarter or received any, the Jansenists and sophists of the eighteenth century. This he shows by circumstantial and documentary evidence that cannot well be stronger, and proves from the most hostile sources that the kings and ministers, who confederated to destroy the society, had no real cause of complaint against it, that some of them up to the last moment were even what might be called well affected to the order, that even the parliaments were not all equally determined in their enmity, but that kings, ministers and parliaments were in most cases the blind and unconscious agents of the Jansenist and infidel combination which was the governing and directing, though, not ostensible leader of the movement, as it was the sole gainer by the catastrophe. The Père de Ravignan will probably explain his object and plan most satisfactorily in his own words.

"It is not, however, the biography of these two popes I purpose to write, nor is it again the complete history of the two pontificates. The weary controversy on the Jesuits had, at the time in question, the sad privilege of occupying too large a space, and absorbing too constantly the attention of both Pontiffs to occasion any surprise, when we find here the detail of the acts of Clement XIII. and Clement XIV., brought out anew in relation to one particular order of facts and ideas. My object, say rather my duty, is to reproduce as faithfully as possible, the pontifical acts relative to the suppression of the Society of Jesus, in their entirety and according to their spirit.

"The Jesuit question, by some unhappy necessity, seems to have governed the thoughts and guided the pens of many historians.

They have been obliged, perhaps in opposition to their wishes, when dealing with these two Popes, to confine the application of their thoughts, and the course of their narrative, to the one sphere of action, embracing the operations of the enemies of the Society of Jesus, and the laborious opposition of the Holy See. The late work of Fr. Theiner, on the Pontificate of Clement XIV., might serve at need as an example of the force of circumstances, which narrows the history of a man, or of an epoch, to a single fact, a single question, as the one focus of interest.

"I must bow to the same necessity. It is not my design to encounter views which differ from my own, or to exhibit Clement XIII. and Clement XIV. in opposition to each other. My object is, to set out the historical truth of matters in simplicity and good faith, restoring to it when requisite, its absolute integrity, as I have been enabled to collect it from the most indisputable facts and documents.

"Mine is the legitimate ambition to be heard, as a witness, in my turn, after a renewed and conscientious study of the documents bequeathed to criticism by the suppression of the Society of Jesus. I should think I have some right to this. It is, however, to the history of the Pontifical acts that I shall apply myself, with the devotedness and submission to which they are entitled.

"Will a faithful and calm detail of the facts and acts of so disturbed an epoch throw a new light upon the Pontifical annals belonging to it? Will it communicate to them a more decided character of certainty? I should hope so, and it is my prayer to the Author of all truth and all justice.

"I act in obedience (and it is a consoling thought) to the suggestion of one who is no more. Our Reverend Father Rothaan, of pious memory, the late General of the Society of Jesus, had been in correspondence with me shortly before he was attacked by the cruel disease which carried him away from us. The work of Father Theiner (why should I not say so?) had deeply affected him. He there saw, not only the Society of Jesus attacked, but the Holy See, and Clement XIV. ill defended, and even compromised. He believed, as he wrote to me, that a better apology might be made for the Pontiff who had suppressed the Society, and in that view suggested to me some reflections which I have treasured up as the last bequest of my father. It was under the influence of this first inspiration I began my labours. They have one only object. I look to claim for them one only merit—Truth."—*Pref. ii.-v.*

The opening chapter is taken up with a general description of the period when the enemies of the Society began to prevail, an eloquent and animated description we need hardly say, and one for which we are prepared by a short

reference to the Council of Trent, and the great Catholic reaction dating from that epoch. The Père de Ravignan modestly suppresses all mention of the part taken by the Society in the Catholic revival, and while dwelling on the conquests of the Church, and her recovery of so many provinces lost, invaded, or threatened, forbears to say that the Society was always the main, and in numerous cases the sole instrument of Providence, in the preservation or reconstitution of His kingdom upon earth. It was in any event about the time when the reaction to which all history bears evidence, and which all parties concur in ascribing to the Jesuits, would seem to have spent itself, that Jansenism and the modern philosophy combined their efforts to destroy those iron legionaries who alone stood firm and unrelaxed, whose organization, discipline, imposing numbers, cool intrepidity, or headlong daring, whose active intelligence and intelligent activity were a perpetual rallying point for the Church and authority, a perpetual obstacle to innovation and disorder. And how dislodge their columns, massed upon the social and religious heights of every land, Catholic, schismatic, heretic, or pagan? How break a line that had never wavered, but was strong in proportion to its extent, though the right wing rested upon the wall of China, and the left was pushed to the Marañon? How demoralize that dark phalanx, that never wore a decoration or coveted reward, that never trembled but for the perfection of its virtue, and dreaded corruption even in the gratitude of its friends? The attempt was simply hopeless, and the enemies of the Society were too sagacious, and understood their task too well, to confine themselves to vulgar persecution, or to be tied down by the common rules of action. They knew it was neither to be defeated nor bought, and therefore determined it should be disbanded. This could only be effected by the Pope, and accordingly all that intrigue, violence, intimidation, or persuasion could effect, was brought to bear upon the Holy See by open enemies, or by the agents often unsuspecting whom they put in motion. The time was peculiarly favourable for such a project. The Portuguese throne was filled by a luxurious idiot, and the government in the hands of a cold and clever despot, inaccessible to fear, compassion, or remorse, of concentrated affections, for they rested on himself, of expansive malignity, for it took in half the world. Friendly

to the sophistry of the age, not because it satisfied his understanding, but because it suited his temper, Pombal was necessarily the enemy of the Jesuits. Hating independence of any kind, he had the intolerance of conscience universal amongst tyrants, and belonged to that class of politicians even now in honour who would line the frontier of heaven with revenue police, and exclude divine grace unless protected by a permit. In him the philosophers had their first recruit and most valuable servant. In enterprise, in obstinacy, in ingenuity, he was more worth than all the kings and ministers of Europe together. Three great kingdoms, France, Spain, and Naples, with the small but important principality of Parma, were governed by princes of the house of Bourbon, whose family interests kept them in such close alliance, that with a little management their common action in this, as in other matters, might be relied upon. The morbid jealousy and unsleeping suspicion of Charles III. of Spain, laid him open to the designs of Pombal, and his inexorable character was sufficient guarantee for the trustworthiness of his enmity, once he should be gained. Louis XV., not deficient in intellect, nor depraved in will, not naturally hard-hearted or naturally unjust, was lapped in debauchery and petrified into selfishness, like the fair shoot imprisoned in stone by the waters that caress it. He had no dislike to the Jesuits, but the importunity of their enemies was troublesome; he admired justice but he loved repose; his kingdom he held in some esteem, but the laugh of an atheist, or the tear of a mistress, could always reckon on success. Naples and Parma were sure to follow in the wake of France and Spain, and what was most important, the ministers of the four countries were proselytes of the fashionable impiety. Among the Catholic powers, Sardinia, Austria for the time being, and what was left of Poland, favoured the Society. Russia and Prussia were, as the event showed, not unfriendly, and such, in a few words, were the materials with which the Jansenists, philosophers, and French magistracy endeavour to effect the dissolution of the Society, by intimidating, persuading, or coercing the Holy See, an enterprise in which they were successful for a time; until after accumulating ruin upon ruin the monarchy was devoured by democracy, the parliaments silenced by the guillotine, democracy in its turn absorbed by despotism, Jansenism died of inanition, and the sophists, or their suc-



cessors, were reserved by Providence to see humanity, religion, and the throne emerge from the general destruction, and to meet the Jesuits again in the same contest, restored, reorganized, bettered by experience, and in no dread of a second dissolution, though destined to many a reverse, and prepared for many a disaster. The contest which thus preceded the great though by no means complete or decisive triumph, (even for the moment,) of the enemies of Christianity, was carried on during the reigns of Clement XIII. and Clement XIV., and terminated, we might almost say, with the life of the latter Pontiff. The Père de Ravignan rightly considered that each pontificate is the necessarily complement of the other, and therefore has gone at considerable length into the history of Clement XIII. It is hardly necessary for us to say how successfully a subject of such acknowledged difficulty, and requiring such tender management, has been dealt with by one whose name raises expectation to the utmost, and who, by the common suffrage of all who have read his book, has certainly not failed to justify it in the present instance. We shall now extract a few pages for the description given by the author of the period we have just considered, and it will be perceived the passage in question supplies the entire argument and plan of the work.

"The Council of Trent was destined in the designs of God to exercise, and did in fact, exercise over all Christendom an influence whose results were incalculable. Giving expression to the belief, and the feelings of the Universal Church, it was the starting point, or rather the *primum mobile* of a wonderful movement, and of a powerful triumph of Catholic faith. Thenceforward Protestantism was arrested in its conquering progress. In the North it was forced back into a narrow space, and in its stead the Roman Church everywhere re-established her powerful empire undisturbed and perpetual. Upper and Lower Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, the Rhenish Provinces, part of the Low Countries, and France, had all been threatened, or even invaded, more or less, by the contagion of heresy. Truth resumed her place, and her victories first received a check at the treaty of Westphalia.

"In France, where, beyond any other country the religious congregations, old and new, vied in zeal for the work of Catholic regeneration, the onward movement of faith was perhaps more prolonged. Nevertheless, her ardour appeared to relax, and her progress to have reached its term, between the years 1656 and 1660, that memorable epoch when the development of Jansenism,



the publication of the Provinciales, was coincident with the death of St. Vincent de Paul.

"Great good, therefore, had been wrought; it was confirmed too, but without any increase of its area of operations in Europe. America, the Indies, the Annamite Empire and China, gave to the Church innumerable children, and consoled her for the recent defections. Amongst ourselves upon the old Catholic soil, and for about a century, from 1650 to 1750, it would be correct to say that the spirit of faith, the practice of Christian duties, and the love of the Church generally, kept their ground. But gradually they declined, and seemed to sink.

"Nevertheless, the struggle against the Church is not to cease. Like Jesus Christ, and with him the Church has been placed in the world as a *sign of contradiction* and of war: the *sign*—the occasion merely, never the *cause*.

"For a long time previously, Protestantism, as we have remarked, struck to the heart, and too grievously disabled to effect anything single handed, stood deprived of its former power of propagation and conquest, but a scarce perceptible underworking was busy at its reproduction under a new form. About this time (1750) there sprung, and disclosed themselves in health and vigour, two branches, the growth of that fatal root—*Jansenism*, a mitigated Calvinism, and *philosophism*, the last development of private judgment.

"Jansenism, too, had its private judgment like every heresy that deliberates and chooses without obeying. Repeated condemnations only served to irritate the spirit of pride and rebellion inherent in every obstinate sect. The authority of the Church personified in her head,—the Bishops in union with the Holy See,—generous defenders of the faith, and dutiful observants of the submission she requires, could never be otherwise than enemies in the eyes of Jansenism.

"In point of fact, the Pope and the Church, immoveable depositaries of revealed truth, do impose obedience upon all. There is the home of that living and resisting antagonism, that invincible obstacle that repels all innovators. All their efforts are, therefore, directed against the authority One, Holy, Catholic, and Roman, which condemns them. Jansenism devoted itself with ardour to this disastrous war, and it so happened towards the middle of the eighteenth century, that with this end in view, the men who defended the doctrines of Jansenius in the name of the Scriptures and divine traditions, met and confederated with the materialist and atheistic sophists, whose reign began amid the intellectual orgies and moral depravity of the period.

"It is not to be denied that the Jansenists and Philosophers differed in the substance and ultimate scope of their ideas and intentions; but they were both in presence of the ancient and imposing hierarchy of the Church, the opponent of their projects. The

authority that stands supreme and infallible in matters of faith, presented to them an insurmountable barrier: they knew it. The sectary and the free thinker were equally unwilling to acknowledge the master who teaches with the power of God himself, what we have to believe and what we have to do. The incredulous, or the rebellious dread, beyond all things, a superior who controls his understanding. To rebellious spirits such a command is hateful or absurd. 'Ecrasons l'infâme,' said the free thinkers; let us attack and disarm the spiritual authority, was the inevitable proposal of the sectaries condemned by it.

"They easily came to an understanding without express concert of measures, perhaps: the authority of the Holy See and of the bishops still stood erect,—it still spoke, it still reigned over belief; its influence and its action would work an indomitable and perpetual resistance. To destroy it utterly, to annihilate it at a single blow, the Catholic constitution and hierarchy was a task of difficulty. There were many whose desires stopped short of this, or who desired it but timidly—others, on the contrary, groaned for it with ardour, and laboured without intermission. Did they at that early period confidently rely upon success? One thing is certain, their imaginations were inflamed by passion, and they ventured on the most daring enterprises.

"One object was common to them all, and served as a rallying point. They were to subjugate the Church, to ruin her independence, and bow her to the yoke of the civil power. Potent auxiliaries were at hand. A large number of statesmen, magistrates, priests, and publicists, lent their zealous co-operation to the work of destruction, for the most part without renouncing the name of Christian. They regarded it as an axiom of politics, as the normal condition of society—that the Church should be subject to the law and will of the temporal power even in the exercise of spiritual functions and canonical rights.

"Jansenists, therefore, philosophers, statesmen, and magistrates, with or without previous concert, met upon this neutral ground. They combined their forces, and began a persecution equally disastrous, and memorable against the spouse of Jesus Christ.

"This is what I wish to establish here, and to have clearly understood, in order subsequently to set in its true aspect, the historical reality of all that regards the two Pontificates of Clement XIII. and Clement XIV., and the suppression of the Society of Jesus.

"What, then, were these Jesuits, in relation to the different classes of adversaries I have just enumerated? How did the Society of Jesus interfere with certain statesmen, philosophers, Jansenists, magistrates, and jurisconsults, imbued with parliamentary maxims?

"Here I am quite aware it does not become me to answer. My testimony might be impeached as partial. I shall appeal to the historians who have least in common with the Jesuits,—to the Pro-

testants. They confirm in every respect the view just presented of the pastors hostile to the Church towards the middle of the eighteenth century."—pp. 1—7.

Agreeably to his plan, the author proceeds to quote from authors hostile, or indifferent, at least, who all concur in ascribing the dissolution of the society to the joint action of the Jansenists and Philosophers. Ranke, Schœll, D'Alembert, Voltaire, Frederick II., De Priest, Fleury, and numerous others, from whom the Père de Ravignan makes pretty copious extracts, place this point, at least, beyond cavil; and it is a striking circumstance, that in no portion of the private correspondence of the enemies of Jesuits, is there the slightest stress laid upon the gravamina of the public charges. Under ordinary circumstances, if men were engaged in exterminating from the republic the teachers of corrupt morality, conspirators against the public peace, advocates and apostles of regicide, it is hardly credible that their private letters referring exclusively to these criminals, should never once advert to their imputed guilt, to the dangerous state of public morals under their guidance, to the perils that beset the throne from their turbulence and disloyalty, to the detection of any of their numerous conspiracies, but seem to have been written in an interest quite apart from that of morality or good government; never at any time putting forward a more dignified motive than the amour-propre of those who were engaged in the work, and had allowed themselves no retreat; sometimes alleging the true motive of most of the writers; that is, the entire subversion of religion, and frequently making not the slightest mention of reason or motive, but simply discussing the means. The friends of religion, a term at that period convertible with the friends of the Jesuits, understood the conflict in the same way, and gave their opinion accordingly, without the least disguise. Saint Alphonsus Liguori, not to mention any other, else we might include the universal prelacy of the Church, pronounced his unhesitating judgment to the same effect; and in our own times Fr. Theiner himself affirms, that the great obstacle in the way of the designs of Jansenist and Infidel, "was the Society of Jesus, by reason of its zeal for religion, its influence over the mind of youth, the high estimation in which it was held by princes, and its invincible respect for the

chair of Peter." Voltaire understood this quite well, and consequently bent the full weight of his attack upon the Jesuits, whom he regarded as the mainstay of Christianity. The Anti-Jesuit movement had been in progress from the time of Clement XI., and constantly grew to more threatening proportions during the pontificate of Clement XII. and Benedict XIV., until we reach the evil days of Clement XIII., on whom and his successor the storm beat fastest and most piteously; although history, or, we should rather say, the prevalent mistake upon the subject, has connected the name of the latter almost exclusively with the immediate events which led to the suppression of the society.

The character of Clement XIII., as described by the Père de Ravignan, and as disclosed without description by the circumstances of his pontificate, is not precisely what would entitle him to be called great, or to speak more accurately, conspicuous, in the ordinary sense of the word. His conduct and character might, however, be said to be rigorously those of a Pope. Not recognising in himself, or, possibly in his counsellors, that skill in government and cleverness in negotiation which has been remarkable in many of his predecessors; instead of allowing himself to be kept in suspense by every difficulty until time pressed, and a rash decision, according to the invariable precedent in such cases, was forced upon him; he made his decision speedily but without precipitation. He did not form his words or actions according to the nice rules of prudence or expediency, but substituted conscience for talent and truth for diplomacy. He was the friend of the Jesuits not from impulse, or instinct, or relations of intimacy, but simply because he connected them with the interest of the Church. He resolved never to sanction or connive at anything to their prejudice, but he was equally determined not to resort to any species of intrigue, or even to any innocent device of human prudence in their defence. He has been wrongly represented as Pontiff of the Middle Ages, astray and agape in the nineteenth century. A Pontiff of the Middle Ages would have dealt very differently with the haughtiest king of them all. Yet he was by no means a Fabius; he neither sought to restore the fortunes of the society by temporising and delay, nor probably would have succeeded if he did. He never was turned out of his path by the terrors or seductions of kingly influence, and still less by the inso-

lence or violence of power. He never showed less favour to the Jesuits or maintained their defence with less decided countenance at one period of his pontificate than at another. He argued with princes and ministers: the humility of a suppliant, or the dignity of exhortation were equally familiar to him, but he was as far from yielding as from threatening, and though he exercised his prerogative when necessary, it was plainly not for the prerogative's sake. He was "instant in season, out of season, reproving, entreating, rebuking, in all patience and doctrine," but entirely neglectful of merely human measures for the furtherance of his projects; for his own defence or that of his friends.

It was not from a Pope of this character that much could be expected by the Anti-Jesuit league. Moreover, the Duc de Choiseul, the principal conspirator after Pombal, did not hunger for the destruction of the society with the same vehemence as the Portuguese or the Spaniard. He was equally determined as either, but not so rancorous. He was willing to apply any pressure, but the absence of all conviction or strong feeling of any kind made him dislike a crisis. He was the type of the French noble of the period, believing in nothing but his own fortunes, and sacrificing to them alone. Hence he was willing to wait for a more favourable turn of affairs, and adjourn the prosecution of the grand scheme of destruction to the next pontificate, which he felt sure was at hand; filling up the interval with details of persecution and spoliation sufficient to amuse the enforced leisure of himself and his confederates, until they should have an opportunity of resuming operations with an assurance of success. By somewhat of patience, too, he considered the hostility of Austria to their design might be mitigated, neutralized, or, perhaps, as the event proved, changed into co-operation, and it was, moreover, the duty of any far-seeing statesman, not to leave the chapter of accidents entirely out of account, but trusting mainly to himself to rely a little upon circumstances. In Austria, for instance, although the piety and firmness of the empress were of themselves insuperable obstacles, yet the empress was not immortal, and who could answer for her successor. The Jansenist interest was powerful, though secret at Vienna. Febronianism was at work to revive the old and disastrous boundary feuds between the Pope and the empire. Austria, the hereditary enemy of France, was

now in cordial amity with her. In other struggles the Holy See might rely upon some one of the Catholic princes to espouse her cause, through policy or piety; but now the Pope stood alone. He did not bend, to be sure, nor could he well be broken, but means might be taken to secure a successor who would conform to the wishes of the princes, and make their triumph all the more effectual for being the less violent and noisy. Schism was after all a dangerous, and, perhaps not altogether possible alternative. The prelacy of every country was known to be all but unanimous in favour of the Jesuits, and although it was reserved for the French episcopate in the next reign to give the world a lesson of heroism such as compelled the admiration of even so determined a Protestant as Walter Scott; yet it was felt by Choiseul and his companions, that safer and more effectual means than an attempt at schism would not be wanting in the course of time.

The Père de Ravignan, however, must not be understood to sketch the history of Clement XIII. in this off-hand way. On the contrary, he goes through it in great detail, and, space permitting, we should be very glad to follow him. Portugal, France, and Spain, have each a chapter devoted to their several relations with the Holy See upon this matter. The occurrences of this melancholy period are familiar to most readers, not merely of ecclesiastical but of general history. The comical enormities charged upon the Society by Pombal, in the opening of the campaign, amongst which figured the establishment of an independent republic in America, and an invasion of Portugal by the English, were amongst the least incredible of the fables with which the Portuguese press flooded the Peninsula, and though at first burned by the hangman in Spain and France, they came to be accredited as soon as these countries were added to the coalition. The tyranny of Pombal, equal to that of Robespierre in jealousy, cruelty, and universality, surpassing it in strength and duration, is faithfully and dispassionately recorded by our historian. It is, we imagine, quite superfluous for us to give even an abstract of the horrors perpetrated in the name of religion, morality, and good government during the administration of Pombal, as recorded by the Père de Ravignan. There is no one, or, at least, there are very few who would not be touched at the sufferings of the Jesuits, without process of law, with-



out distinction of rank, age, or infirmity, in the dungeons of Lisbon, or the hulks, into which the unconvicted convicts were stowed like swine, to be discharged upon the Roman shores, to the disgust of Spain and France, both of whom were on the eve of imitating, and the former of surpassing the same atrocities. We shall not dwell upon the diplomatic rupture between Portugal and the Holy See, nor upon the way in which France was drawn into the confederacy. The old parliamentary animosities inflamed by the spirit of Jansenism, whose most active propagators, lay and clerical, were in some way or other recruited from the magistracy, the prevalence of scepticism and immorality in the court and literature, which nursed the philosophic doctrines of the eighteenth century, the enmity of Pompadour, and the selfish levity of Choiseul, were sufficient to account for the comparative facility with which France was associated to Pombal and his fellow-labourers. But the adhesion of France though so fatal was glorious to the Society, for the French prelacy, then as now the most eminent in the universal Church, collectively and individually bore testimony to the innocence of the Society, and upheld its rights not by secret or subaltern expedients, but by a direct appeal to the throne, remarkable for that freedom of language, and courageous invocation of common right and common law and public opinion, which has seldom wanted an echo in France under any form of government, and which no power, however solidly established in France, can long afford to neglect. It required some boldness to say in the country which had passed from Richelieu and Mazarin to Louis XIV., "*Ce qui m'épouvante dans cette forme de proceder c'est qu'elle ne respire que l'arbitraire qui est le plus terrible des fléaux de l'humanité.*" Yet such was the language of the Bishop of Grenoble to the Chancellor of France.

The Père de Ravignan follows Louis XV. through all his waverings, and Clement XIII. throughout his uniform course of entreaty, remonstrance, advice, argument, appeals of every sort, and to all the powers, secular and spiritual, engaged in the question of the Jesuits. His briefs of thanks and encouragement to the bishops who had espoused and clung to the cause of religion and the Jesuits, would form a bulky volume, and are in strong and happy contrast to the fewness of those it was his duty to direct to such of the hierarchy as were remiss or ill-

affected. In France, however, unlike Spain, Portugal, and Naples, where no forms of law were observed, the jealousy of public opinion and of the parliaments themselves had to be respected. Hence the proceedings were less summary, less cruel, less brutal than in other countries, but more harassing, more vexatious, more wearisome to the soul, and more trying to the conscience. The agony was prolonged by the external justice, the whole substance of which had been eaten out by the passions of that miserable time. The persecution here took the form of oaths and tests, the most abominable expedient, as we well know, ever invented by tyranny to torture conscience, to debauch virtue, and foster hypocrisy. Some few in the anguish of the extremity, as in the case of the Pere de la Croix, yielded not so much to temptation as to a mistaken sense of duty, but soon discovered their error and atoned for it. The vast majority went into exile without murmur or remonstrance. The parliaments one after the other decreed the suppression of the Society, and the decree was rigorously carried into effect, although the Pope, with that meek but invincible courage which was so decided a feature of his character, annulled the decrees in question, and protested against their execution. We have a sample in the following pages of the way in which that execution was accomplished.

"Clement XIII. had already, as we have seen, condemned and annulled, by a decree pronounced in the allocution of September 3, 1762, the sentences of the French parliaments against the Jesuits. Prudential reasons had prevented him from clothing with the character of official publicity this act of pontifical power. He had at the same time employed all the resources of his zeal, and exhausted every expedient of conciliation and tenderness in dealing with the feeble Louis XV. That wretched prince, between his mistress and his minister, was unequal to any generous exercise of the will, to any firm or conscientious decision. He will go on yielding to the end.

"Disregarding the remonstrance of the Pope, as might have been expected, the parliaments, in the beginning of the year 1764, levelled a new sentence of proscription against the Jesuits. In virtue of this sentence the fathers were obliged to abjure the institute, and confirm upon oath the odious imputations with which the former sentences had loaded them. On their refusal they were to be expelled from France, and deprived of the slender pension of 400*l.*, which had been assigned to them. All, with very few exceptions, rejected the outrageous oath; they unhesitatingly pre-

ferred exile to the advantages they should have been obliged to purchase at the peril of their consciences.

"The proscription was executed with the utmost rigour. Neither age, nor infirmity, nor talent, nor virtue, nor services gave any title to exemption. All were included in the anathema. They were sent to beg their bread in foreign countries,\* and Louis XV. had the inconceivable weakness to permit the violence of the parliament to tear from the children of France the sons of the Dauphin, the pious and learned Father Berthier, whom he had placed over them. The seal of the royal sanction, however, was yet wanting to these indignities. 'Choiseul and M<sup>de</sup>. de Pompadour,' says Schœll, 'irreconcilable in their hatred, and intoxicated by the incense of the philosophers, tormented Louis XV. so long that at length, through mere lassitude, he yielded to their importunity, and issued, in the month of Nov., 1764, an edict, styled irrevocable, suppressing the order of the Jesuits throughout the kingdom of France.'

"The 3rd of December following, the Duc de Praslin, minister of foreign affairs, sent the edict of suppression to the Marquis d'Aubeterre, French ambassador at Rome. In this ministerial despatch, given in extenso by the author of the Pontificate of Clement XIV., we read the following passages. 'It is with regret, and after having long and maturely weighed everything, that the king has at length settled upon the course just adopted. Although his majesty was convinced that the stability of religion in France did not depend upon the preservation of the order of Jesuits, inasmuch as the Catholic and Roman faith had there been happily maintained for eleven hundred years before the establishment of that religious Society; nevertheless, *the king considered the order useful to Church and state*, whether in respect of edification or of instruction; but reasons of a higher nature, grounded upon the public tranquillity, have induced his majesty to explain his intentions in the manner you have just seen.† Under these circum-

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\* We have still in existence the farewell letter written by the Pere de Brauvais, to one of his friends, on his way to exile. "It is the kingdom, my dear friend, that I must leave. I have spent thirty-six years in forming citizens, and I must no longer be a citizen myself. At seventy years of age I must look out for a resting-place, and close in foreign lands a life forty-two years of which has been devoted to my country's service. In presence of the inexorable alternative between exile and an oath I must not take, I do not hesitate, but I go a victim to the fidelity I owe the sacred engagements I have contracted. Full of respect for the hand that smites, submissive to the hand that permits, I only implore the aid of that which supports."

† It is a curious thing to hear Louis XV. himself give his opinion

stances, Sir, it would be very useless, and even more dangerous still, for the Pope to take any step directly or indirectly contrary to the wishes of the king, and his Holiness out of zeal for religion, and even out of kindness for the Jesuits, *ought to impose upon himself the same silence the king has prescribed in his own states.*"—pp. 153-7.

The conduct of Clement XIII., in regard to Spain, was uniform with his treatment of Louis XV. The intrigues by which Charles III. was wrought upon to conceive so implacable an hostility to the Jesuits have never come to light. The account by the Spanish Jesuit Caseda, of a conversation between the ex-provincial of the Jesuits, after their expulsion from Spain, and a grandee of that country, is well known, and not wanting in probability. A forged letter, with the Roman post mark, purporting to come from the general to the provincial, reflecting on the legitimacy of the king, and commanding the Spanish superior to prepare the minds of his religious for a revolu-

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of the edict of proscription which mistress and minister had extorted from his weakness against the religious of the Society of Jesus. In an autograph letter of this prince, addressed to the Duc de Choiseul, and which M. de St. Priest has had the ingenious idea of publishing in his appendix to the History of the Jesuits, page 298, we read—

"Altogether I find the preamble much too long and too circumstantial; as to all the doings of the parliaments, I shall simply say, that the Society having caused a great ferment in my kingdom, I order all its individuals to depart the same, and that I shall give a pension for life to each in whatever country he may fix upon.

"Art. III. I dont think we need speak of *punishment*, that is a good deal too strong.

"Art. VIII. The expulsion is here too decidedly characterized as *perpetual and irrevocable*. Dont we know that the most stringent edicts have been rescinded in spite of every possible proviso?

"*I have no cordial affection for the Jesuits, but every heresy has at all times detested them—in that lies their strength. I say no more on that subject. If I send them away against my own inclination, for the peace of my kingdom, I dont, at all events, wish to have it believed that I adhere to all the parliaments have said and done against them.*

"I persist in my opinion that their expulsion should be accompanied by the reversal of all that has been done against them by the parliaments. (Just what Clement XIII. had the spirit to do.)

"Yielding, as I do, to the opinion of others for the tranquillity of my kingdom, the changes I insist on must be made, otherwise I shall not act. *I am silent, for I should say too much.*"

tion that would place the crown on the head of the rightful heir, was an expedient worthy the ingenuity of Pombal: but whatever were the reasons determining the king, he at once became the most irreconcilable enemy to the Society. Burying the secret of their guilt, as he said, in his royal breast, forbidding the discussion of the subject to any of his subjects under pain of death, he decreed that memorable expulsion of the Jesuits, with the details of which we are so familiar, which exceeds in atrocity all that reading or imagination pictures to us of the Black Hole of Calcutta, or the middle passage in a slaver, and stands out the most terrible record of unlimited power and its unlimited abuse. But that was not the principal point secured to the confederates by the enlistment of Charles III. His unrelenting temper, the stern tenacity of his hatred, the invincible obstinacy of his will, were to them the strongest guarantee they could have for the accomplishment of their design. Clement, however, had shown that there was nothing to be expected from him; that no threat, no seduction, no violence, could be of the slightest avail. The county of Avignon, and the Duchy of Beneventum were invaded and occupied, without moving him a hair's breadth from his purpose. Their restoration was promised as the reward of his compliance with the wishes of the princes; but he made as little account of the promised reparation as of the perpetrated wrong, and totally disregarding every suggestion of merely human prudence, and putting out of sight every dictate of human interest, he adhered in sadness, but without hesitation, or doubt, or despondency, to the strict letter of his duty, as he understood it. And when at length his sorrows reached their term, and he was relieved from the cross which had galled him so sorely and so unintermittingly during his pontificate, he left the Society of Jesus in the same canonical position as he had found it, without the diminution of a single privilege, and without having withdrawn, or seemed to withdraw, his countenance for a single hour.

The conclave which terminated in the elevation of Cardinal Ganganelli, under the name of Clement XIV., to the Chair of Peter, was in many respects the most remarkable of modern times. Portugal and the Bourbon princes were determined to have a Pope after their own fashion, and it was plainly intimated to the Conclave that no Pope not pledged formally or substantially to the dissolution

of the Jesuits should be recognized by the four crowns. The friends of the Jesuits were the more numerous and active party in the sacred college, where the Jesuits had few, if any, real antagonists, unless perhaps the foreign cardinals, who were the deputies of their respective governments. Spain was more particularly threatening and urgent for an express undertaking in writing, on the part of the Pope elect, to suppress the Order of the Jesuits, as a condition precedent to the consummation and recognition of the election. But the French Cardinal Bernis, though committed to the views of his government, and prepared to forward them in every legitimate way, peremptorily refused to interfere with election in so uncanonical a manner; declared that, if it were pressed upon the conclave, the sacred college would be obliged to dissolve with a protest against violence and obsession; and with a sentiment of his duty as a bishop and a cardinal, that cannot be too much commended in the representative of such a court, and such a cause, at such a time; refused to concur in any measure that would render the election simoniacal. It is, therefore, with great pain, in late years especially, the Jesuits have seen the validity of that election impeached, or at least called in question by some who love the Society "too well" perhaps, but certainly "not wisely." The temerity of M. Crétineau Joly, in particular, has been regretted and censured by none more severely than by the Jesuits; and this is not a feeling gotten up at a moment's warning, but a sentiment testified uninterruptedly from the dissolution of the Society to its restoration, and from thence till now. Perhaps the choice of the Sacred College was the only one possible. Cardinal Ganganelli was originally amongst those who seemed to have fewest claims, both from his juniority and his leaning, not so much to the crowns, as to the idea that the question of dissolving the Society was one not of abstract justice, but of expediency. On the other hand, he was not sufficiently the enemy of the Society to satisfy the expectations of the princes who required a categorical engagement on the part of the Pope elect, not only to abolish the Order of the Jesuits, but to comply with their desires on four other points. His antecedents, though not of a violent or marked character, would seem to pledge him to the suppression, or at least radical alteration of the Society, while at the same time, his well known piety and



moderation were a guarantee that, should the suppression of the Society be inevitable, it would be effected, as the event proved, in the way least hurtful to religion, and the reputation of the Society itself. The best proof of the canonicity of the election, next to the letters of the Cardinal de Bernis, is the fact that the most vehement opponents of Cardinal Ganganelli finally came round to his party; taking into account most probably his eminent virtues, his acceptance by the princes, the fact that, being himself the only religious in the sacred college, he would have a natural sympathy for the Jesuits, and relying also on the sense of his awful responsibility as Pope, which would outweigh every other consideration, and every engagement contrary to its dictates. Be that as it may, Pope he was elected, and Pope he was *de facto* and *de jure*, as no Jesuit or well judging friend of the Society ever thought of denying, and as the Père de Ravignan affirms, with utmost positiveness.

The ceremonies of the consecration, however, were scarce ended, when the agony of the new Pontiff, more grievous and more deserving by far of compassion than that of his predecessor, began. Clement XIII. saw the evils that were thickening upon the Church, but as far as he was personally concerned, he was saved the anguish of suspense and indecision. His mind was made up—there was simplicity in his suffering—he had determined on resistance, whereas his successor's conscience was not thoroughly informed on the course to be adopted. Fully *resolved* to do what was for the peace of the Church, but not fully *knowing* what that might be; not having the choice between good and evil, but between two evils of prodigious magnitude; anxious to avert both if possible, and yet overwhelmed by the conviction that he should elect for one; always overwhelmed by a cloud of despair, and always straining for a glimpse of hope; encompassed and straitened by the princes from without; rent like Jerusalem in her last hour by the conflict of doubts within; ever craving a respite from the final decision, and finding none; the unhappy Pontiff proclaimed more eloquently than by any words, that, in dissolving the Society, he yielded to violence and necessity; that, were there occasion for reform or suppression, he needed not the prompting, still less the constraint of kings; but that God,

having narrowed his discretion, like David's, to the choice of calamity, he had only to choose like David, and submit like him.

The stereotyped forms of congratulation were altered by the ambassadors of the Bourbon princes, to make him feel that he was Pope by their grace as well as by the grace of God ; to urge their demands, and to intimate that they considered him pledged to gratify their wishes. From that moment despatch followed despatch, each more urgent than the other—each more insulting—each more threatening. The Pope, whose resolution had only reached the point of determining to suppress the Society, if the suppression was unavoidable, conceived himself free in conscience to promise the extinction of the Society in the fulness of time, much as the general of a besieged place undertakes to surrender if succours fail to come within a stated period. He ratified by a brief the statu quo in the dominions of the House of Bourbon, by which a canonical sanction was given to the sequestration of the property of the Jesuits; he expressly undertook, in a letter to the king of Spain, to abolish the Society, and was afterwards reduced to the plea of time, in order that the canonical forms might be observed. He would gladly have remitted the question to a General Council, but the chalice could not pass away from him, and every concession to the crowns only rendered them more peremptory and more exacting. To judge by what we learn from certain writers, Professor Leu amongst the number, the Pope was as eager for the suppression of the Society, as Charles III. ; the ministers of the Bourbon princes, were so many lambs, whose bleatings wrung the heart of the pastor; and the Jesuits were so many wolves, or rather so many foxes, ready to fasten upon the lambs when occasion served, and by their superhuman cleverness, more than a match for kings, pope, ministers, and ambassadors put together. We are very far from including Father Theiner among the writers who have taken, or we should rather say, who have given this view, for it is impossible to find simplicity so refreshing as this would indicate in any one who has reached the years of discretion. The learning of that distinguished man is too solid, and his motives too unimpeachable to admit of his giving such a colour, at least intentionally, to his narrative; but it is a fact, nevertheless, that the thing has

been attempted, and as might be expected where the Jesuits are concerned, not without a degree of success. Under such circumstances there is nothing like "producing the record," (to use a term of art); an appeal to facts is a great deal, but facts have sometimes two sides; whereas a document, but more especially a non-official and confidential document, has seldom more than one reading, and Fr. Ravignan quotes the private correspondence between the Cardinal de Bernis and the Duc de Choiseul, which will show in what respect the princes held the Holy See, and how forbearingly they were disposed to act towards it.

"The Duc de Choiseul accompanied this official despatch with a confidential letter addressed to the Cardinal de Bernis. We there read, amongst other startling things, 'I should not be astonished if the Pope, who dearly loves his monkery, embarrassed, too, by circumstances, and haunted by his pusillanimous fear of poison, should have gotten up a quiet little negociation with the king of Spain's confessor monk, to whom it would not surprise him if he allowed a glimpse of the calotte rouge. Be that as it may, we shall baffle by our urgency the intrigues of the *fratacci*. We shall meet the Pope's motives with motives of fear—we shall annihilate those little Roman tactics, and we shall know what we have to expect from the feelings of the Holy Father, whom I greatly mistrust. It is very difficult for a monk not to remain a monk, and still more difficult for an Italian monk to be frank and honest in his dealings.'

"Such was the respect, such the consideration testified by the prime minister of the most Christian king for the supreme head of the Church. What must not have been already the anguish of the Pontiff's mind?

"But we can have a still clearer insight into the spirit which animated Choiseul. We have a better sample still of the levity and inconsistency with which he regulated affairs of such grave importance for the interest of religion and of Catholic states. On the 26th of August he wrote to the French ambassador at Rome, and after having explained to him that the instructions in the previous dispatches were merely comminatory, he added, 'I shall wind up the history of the Jesuits by placing before your eyes a picture that I think you will consider striking. *I do not know if it has been well done to expel the Jesuits from France and Spain.* They are now expelled from all the states of the house of Bourbon. And those monks once expelled, I think it was a still greater blunder to make an ostentatious move at Rome for the suppression of the order, and to give Europe notice of the move. The thing is done, however. It so happens the kings of France, Spain, and Naples,

are at open war with the Jesuits and their partisans. Are they to be suppressed or are they not? Will the kings succeed or will the Jesuits carry the day? This is the question that agitates cabinets; it is the well-spring of the intrigues, vexations, and embarrassments that beset all the Catholic courts. Truly you cannot take a quiet look at the picture without seeing the caricature. If I were ambassador at Rome I should be ashamed to think that Father Ricci was my master's antagonist.'

"Bernis replied in much the same strain. 'I have no *arrière pensée* regarding the Jesuits. Like yourself, M. le Duc, I do not inquire whether it has been well or ill done to expel the Jesuits from the four kingdoms, or whether, after their expulsion, it has been wise to solicit their extinction all over the world. I start from the state of things we have to deal with *now*. The kings of France and Spain must win the day against the general of the Jesuits. It is the Pope alone who can give them the victory, and it is our part to induce him to do so. He is a bishop—he must follow the canonical forms—he must keep on terms with the clergy, and consult his own reputation. He is a temporal prince, and has many obligations to the courts of Vienna and Turin, as well as towards Poland—all this requires time.'

"There are cruel caprices in politics—their most powerful influences are sometimes very little and very hollow. A question of compromised vanity determines the issue of serious, and afflicting enterprises on the part of men to whom Providence has entrusted the government of nations, and men will probably disavow with contempt what officially they maintain with haughty obstinacy. Accordingly M. de St. Priest has not been able to avoid saying, 'Thus with inconceivable levity did Choiseul condemn the very measure of which he was the author.' It will be readily admitted that with persecutors of this character the portion of the victims involved more than one variety of suffering. But it is not my part to give expression to them. I shall only ask leave to say that I prefer the earnestness of the courts of Spain and Naples in their struggle against the Society of Jesus. There, at least, the ruin of these poor religious was followed up with the frankness and firmness of a declared hatred. In France, moreover, sheltered behind the levity of Choiseul, there lived and moved, we well know, enmities quite as sincere, quite as deep-rooted as elsewhere.'"—pp. 280-3.

The same levity and the same absence of real cause for the hostility to the society is brought home to the doors of its most active enemies the parliaments. In the first place, as we showed in the paper to which we have already alluded, the parliaments were by no means unanimous in their decrees against the society, and, if the votes for acquittal be weighed against those for condemnation, it

will be found, that on the whole the Jesuits were proscribed in many parliaments by a majority of only one, in some of two or three, and on the whole by a majority so narrow, as to be accounted for partly by chance and partly by management. But the Père de Ravignan quotes, perhaps, the most striking instance of the way in which these things were managed, and of the spirit which animated some, at least, of those who had to decide upon questions which were convulsing all Europe. "No one here," writes a zealous parliamentarian from Dijon, "bears the Jesuits ill-will, but we don't want to be better than our neighbours, and will not have any patch-work, '*Nous ne ferons pas de bigarrure.*'" It was on the same principle, perhaps, that the revolutionary tribunals dealt out such impartial justice to the magistracy, and chopped off their heads by dozens, most probably "pour ne pas faire de bigarrure."

The final step was at length taken to force a decision on the Pope. The decencies of diplomacy had been too long regarded; like the forms of our own legislature in certain cases, they afforded a shelter and a retreat to the Pope, that it was essential to cut off. France, however, was not sufficiently far gone in revolutionary ruffianism, nor indeed was her hatred of the Jesuits sufficiently intense to admit of her playing the bully "pur et simple." It was foreign to her character, to her manners, to her feelings. But Spain had a man for the purpose, though it would be a libel upon Spain to say that he represented the national character, or that she had another in her wide dominions to paragon Monino. Stern of aspect, coarse in mind, dull in sensibility, hard of heart, inflexible in purpose, brutal in demeanour, the terrors of his brow controlled the disgust that was created by his swagger. You would have said his blood had flown not so much through scoundrels as through hang-men since the flood. The fanaticism of his hatred, and the doggedness of its pursuit were so well known that his bare nomination filled the Pope with terror. Clement felt that all was consummated, and could not for some days induce himself to grant the new ambassador an audience. That once done, however, the catastrophe soon followed. The Pope began to prepare the fatal instrument that was to disband and scatter his faithful army, and its progress was too rapid for his wishes. Meanwhile, to appease for a time the eagerness of his persecutors, and to give them tangible proof that he had their work in

hand, the consequences of the brief were anticipated by withdrawing the Roman and other colleges from the care of the society, by closing the noviciates, sealing up the archives, and sequestering the property of the houses. Last of all, on the 16th of August, 1773, the triumph of the powers of this world was complete; the brief, "*Dominus ac Redemptor* issued," and the Society of Jesus was no more. The general, his assistants, and the rectors of the more important colleges were conveyed to prison to go through the forms of a judicial process. Placed beside the awful magnitude and consequences of the act that abolished the Society of Jesus, its episodes and collateral issues vanish and are lost. After the victory was won it appeared incredible to the victors themselves that the Pope should have yielded under any pressure, and in the presumption of their pride and exultation they believed the Church would speedily follow the society; fools that they were, the existence of the Church is linked to that of her Founder only: and the society itself, a very fraction of the Church, which it had cost them so much toil, so many watchings, such delicate intrigue, such bold impiety, such a waste of power intellectual and physical to destroy; was destined in the course of a few years to be revived and fill the world with its name, its spirit, and its works.

Whether simply overruled by a disposition of Providence, or acting in conformity with his own peculiar views, the Pontiff suffered the publication of the brief to be accompanied by none of the formalities commonly supposed essential. He carefully abstained from saying anything that might be wrested to imply a condemnation of the religious in their doctrines or practice. The general that was so soon to languish and die in the prisons of the state, could not have been more tender of the reputation of the Society. The peace of the Church, and the importunity of the princes, was put forward as the sole reason of the measure, and to our view, that remarkable brief was unmistakably intended by Providence, and we have no doubt, intended by its author to facilitate, or at least to throw no obstacle in the way of, the restoration of the Society at the fitting time. Wherever the brief was published, or at all notified, and the secular power did not interfere, the Jesuits at once obeyed its tenor, and even where its publication was forbidden by the secular power friendly to the Jesuits, as in Prussia, they entreated, and



sometimes obtained permission to disperse. In China, where no constraint but that of censure could reach them, they at once abandoned their flourishing missions, and compromised themselves with the emperor to obey the Pope. In Russia, however, neither was the publication of the brief permitted, nor would the empress allow the fathers to abandon the conventual life. The Père de Ravignan enters minutely into the painful controversy to which this circumstance gave rise, and certainly his facts would go far to prove the possibility, at the very least, that the Pope was not displeased with the exclusion of the brief, and the preservation of the Society in statu quo in Prussia; an exclusion which there is no doubt was regarded by Pius VII. as a direct interposition of God. We have not space at this stage of the subject to give an abstract of the statement of the Père de Ravignan, but we cannot avoid expressing our concurrence in one remark which appears so striking and so reasonable, that we apprehend few will be disposed to dissent from it. It is too much the habit, he says, to exclude the Society from the benefit of the common law in every matter. The very persons who lay the most grievous imputations upon the Jesuits, are most clamorous for heroic sacrifices and magnificent supererogation on the part of criminals, who, if they were the tithe as bad as they are represented, would be fitter subjects for a pillory than for an altar. It is perfectly well known to be the common law of the Church, that a brief does not command obedience prior to publication; and yet, in the presence of such prompt and absolute obedience, not only when obedience was enforced, but when it was possible, there can be no condemnation too harsh for the few Jesuits who, under the iron dominion of Russia, continued in the conventual life, which, right or wrong, they were taught to believe was not displeasing to the Holy Father; and which, under any circumstances, was completely lawful for them to adhere to until the publication of the brief.

We have not given even an outline of the Père de Ravignan's book, nor have we even touched upon all the heads of his statements. It does not appear to us, however, that he has left anything unsaid that could be urged in any view of the subject. Assuming his facts to be authentic, and we do not well see how they can be disputed, his case is clearly made out. On the other hand,

he has never been wanting in deference, we might say in tenderness, for the memory of Clement XIV., and we do not think that Fr. Theiner can read this work, which is after all a pendant to his own, without an increased respect for its eminent author. The extracts we have already ventured on are sufficient proof that the book has not been written in a controversial, or drily argumentative spirit. It boldly takes an apologetic stand, so that there is no restraint put upon the affectionate warmth, and no toning down of the sadness with which the author speaks of the disasters of his well beloved mother—the Society. The following extract gives a moving picture of the dolorous resignation of the Jesuits after the suppression.

“God, the principle of all good, is the Author of the sweetest affections of the heart of man. His compassionate goodness inclining towards the creature in the midst of the evils and trials which the order of his providence attaches to our passage upon earth; has deigned to lodge in the sanctuary of our souls a twofold love, as pure as it is strong; the love of country and the love of family; a double consolation, a double refuge amid the fatigues of the journey of life. Accordingly, this profound and universal sentiment of nature has always included amongst the most poignant sorrows, amongst the heaviest misfortunes, exile from the native soil and domestic roof, the loss of country and family, the sacrifice imposed upon the just and innocent man, to divorce himself violently from all his recollections and all his habits, from the tenderest and most necessary affections. And when the existence is thus mutilated and distorted, and when no term appears in the future, presenting to the hope of the unfortunate exile, the happy hour of return, the joy of restoration and the recovered union, with all that his best and purest years had loved; then indeed a deep sadness becomes, as it were, the home and the resting-place of the exile. For him everything is waste. At least he shall have from us what he well may claim at our hands,—a brotherly sympathy and a word of true commiseration.—Ah if we were in his place!

“Shall I be blamed if, after having faithfully detailed, without lamentation and without complaint, the persecutions, the anguish, the protracted agony, and the end of the religious, my fathers, I revert for a moment to the dolorous oppression, to the brutal expulsions, to the dungeons, to the insults that overwhelmed the proscribed? What I picture to myself most vividly is, the violent separation of loving brethren, and I am with them and of them, in the midst of those farewells that rent their souls. To them it was far more cruel than banishment and exile,—far more heart-breaking than the loss of country or family. The religious has received a second birth and second baptism by the profession of the life

and of the rule to which the divine vocation has devoted his understanding, his heart, his entire being. There, by a love which has its source in supernatural grace, he forms ties stronger, sweeter, and more worth than those which bind him to the native soil or own fireside. The vows, the regular discipline, life in such absolute community; the spirit vivifying the body, and diffused throughout every member; the inheritance bequeathed by saints, who lived the same life, wrought at the same labours, nourished the same thoughts; that irrevocable gift of our entire future to the Society which has adopted us as her children,—the profound confidence which, under her maternal authority, is a shelter everywhere, at all times, in every need of soul and body; all these things contribute to cement that love, more powerful than nature, more powerful than death, which identifies us in the religious profession with our brethren, with the labours, the works, the successes, the reverses, the very life of the Society.

“The love of the Society, the grace of the Society, the union of the Society belong to that class of hidden enjoyments which are scarcely to be expressed, and cannot certainly be understood outside the transformed elements that go to make up this religious family and country. Accordingly, when the dissolution is decreed, the vocation broken, the sentence of death pronounced; an unspeakable martyrdom is consummated: the religious ceasing to be so, without ceasing to love his vocation, is a man stripped in a moment of treasures a thousand times more precious than life, family, existence—it is an affliction widely differing from that of banishment and exile. The religious childhood of the novitiate, those studies so peaceably pursued, those long and lovely exercises of the great retreat, the conversation and friendship of brethren given you by God Himself, the absence of all solicitude, the comfort of an exact but not indigent poverty, which shows the hand of Providence open to clothe, to feed, to caress His darling children, the happy administration of a paternal superiority, and the sacred ties of a community of trials, prayers, efforts, sufferings, and joys, in every country in the world; all this constitutes a laborious but inexpressible felicity, the loss of which is bitter as the bitterest misfortune. There remains, then, in that asylum which is called resignation, a secret and respectful worship of sorrow, that overwhelms and that is loved.

“Two examples out of myriads will help us to understand these sentiments.

“From the remote exile to which the suppression of the order in France had condemned him, a Jesuit, whose name is dear to literature and the muses, Fr. François Desbillons, expressed in moving terms, full of religious and sorrowful resignation, his affliction at the total extinction of the Society of Jesus by the authority of the supreme head of the Church. He writes from Manheim, (17 Feb., 1774,) to his brother, M. Terasse Desbillons, a distinguished magis-

trate of the province of Berry, 'You still call me Jesuit in the superscription of your letter. I feel your kindness, for it is a name that will always remain in my heart. It is probably as a Frenchman you think I am entitled to it. That may apply to our fathers who remain in France, because, if we are truly informed, no bishop has communicated to them the Pope's brief, but it has been communicated to me, as well as to our German fathers. I am no longer a Jesuit, because I must obey the orders of my lawful superiors, who will not have me bear that glorious name. Call me Reverend Father simply. Any priest may be called Reverend Father. What remains to me over and above is, that no one can prevent me from being a religious, in other words, consecrated to God in a special manner, not by solemn vows, since the Pope has annulled them, but by my adherence to practices of which I am master.

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"The destruction of the Society of Jesus is, my dear brother, the severest trial I have ever had to undergo. God has supported and continues to support me. Every hour I do my utmost to be cheerful, for I know that our supreme master does not wish us to make a show of sorrow : *hilarem datorem diligit Deus*.

"I often remember I have seen Terasse, your eldest son, when he was only a little monkey, sing and cry at the same time. 'What's that!' you used to say, when he was in tears for some little mishap; 'come, now, let me hear you sing the pretty song.' The child wept, and sobbed, and sung at the same time. A good lesson *ex ore infantum*. I am too old to weep, neither do I sob, but there comes upon me continually a terrible oppression of sadness; then I endeavour to sing, and, in fact, I do sing when I am alone. It has even happened to me once to sing at table with two or three of our fathers at Schwetzingen, with one of the most celebrated musicians of Europe, not to say the most celebrated and accomplished of any we know. He has been the admiration of Rome, Naples, Lisbon, Vienna, and places innumerable. This good man, an excellent and edifying Christian, is named Rapt; he is a downright Jesuit. This voice of mine, as you know, is nothing to boast of, and yet he said I sang with taste. Let this be told en passant for those who say, at best, I am *only fit to write fables*.

"Do you know, my dear brother, what gives me most consolation in my misfortunes? It is the knowledge that my present trials serve to detach me from the earth, and dispose me gradually to pass, as I hope, to a better life.

"I will just add that I count on the restoration of the Jesuits one day or other."—421-6.

We have no occasion to repeat our own opinion of the work before us. It has been very successful in France,

and will, we have no doubt, be equally successful amongst reasoning men in all countries. Its qualities of style are to us the least consideration, or, rather, we lost sight of them altogether in the importance of the matter. It is not intended as a piece of eloquence to furbish up a case, but a statement of facts with a running commentary, occasionally animated and moving, but never intemperate. The Père de Ravignan is certainly not the panegyrist of Clement XIV., but so far from taking the opposite character, he acknowledges both the virtues and worth of that Pontiff, makes allowance for the difficulty in which he was placed, suggests the most charitable as well as the most apparent motives for all his acts, never imputes a sinister design or wrong intent, defends the canonicity of his election, and shows himself in every particular as tender of the reputation of the Holy See and as submissive to its authority as Father Theiner could desire. No one, we should think, ought to give the work a heartier welcome than the distinguished Oratorian. His object as regards Clement XIV. and the Holy See, was identical with that of our author here; the difference between them is frequently one rather of expression than of sentiment. With both authors the sole object is the ascertainment and confirmation of the truth. "We take it to our conscience," says Fr. Theiner in his preface, "and call God to witness that we have undertaken this work purely in the interest of the Church and of truth." The Père de Ravignan, whom we have already quoted, makes the same declaration and with like solemnity. This much, at least, Fr. Theiner will be able to collect from the work to which his own has led; namely, that the Père de Ravignan is not to be classed with those, to the removal of whose misconceptions "the History of the Pontificate of Clement XIV." had been devoted. "There is hardly any name in history," says Fr. Theiner, "so much misunderstood or so unjustly dealt with by others as that of Clement XIV. Even noble minded and moderate Catholics, whose number happily for the Church still preponderates, cannot speak of Clement XIV. without being seared, without a kind of holy horror." (Scheu.) Others also, Catholics, but of indiscreet zeal, which is not according to the spirit of heavenly wisdom, treat him as a man, who, with a sinful craving after empty honours, and almost sold to the evil spirit of the time; yielded to the seeming

force of circumstances, fawned on the princes of the world, and to please them, sacrificed, like a coward, the most sacred rights of the Church through weakness or through treason." The Père de Ravignan, it is sufficiently plain, we should hope, belongs to neither of the classes for whom Fr. Theiner wrote; and, were we allowed another hope, it would be that the controversy, if it can be called so, might close here, not only between the principals, as we feel sure it must, but between all who share their views on one side or the other.

We are acting in the spirit of Père de Ravignan's work when we abstain from remarks of a purely controversial character, or any attempt to make what might be called a rebutting case for the Society. Had we Father Theiner's book directly under review, a rather different task might be imposed upon us, from that to which we have been limited by the very nature of the Père de Ravignan's essay. It would then become our duty to point out the numerous inaccuracies into which the learned author has been betrayed, and which are thickly scattered throughout his two ample volumes. Father Curci has disposed of a good many of them by anticipation in his "*Divinazione sulle tre ultime opere di Vincenzo Gioberti*," and it is greatly to be regretted that Father Theiner, who notices Curci's celebrated book in his own preface to the "*History of the Pontificate of Clement XIV.*" has attended rather to the spirit in which he conceives that able work to have been written, than to the facts and arguments which it embodies. Other writers, whether members or friends of the Society, have dealt less forbearingly with Fr. Theiner than the Père de Ravignan has thought proper to do; and notwithstanding our extreme respect for the learning and virtues of the eminent Oratorian, we are bound to say that we can easily enter into the feelings of the apologists of the Society. They have commented with a bitterness perhaps to be deprecated, but certainly to be understood upon the unseasonableness of the work, and the fatality which would seem, however wrongfully, to make Theiner the yoke-mate of Gioberti. The consideration weighed so much with Fr. Theiner himself, that he postponed the publication of his book from '48 to '52, and we have only to deplore that it has not been held back, according to the advice of Horace, until at least the ninth year; so that something might have occurred to modify the views as well as to correct the



erroneous impressions and false information of the Author. It is matter of regret also that the obvious impolicy of dividing the strength of religion and frittering it away in bye-battles at a moment when absolute union and hearty co-operation was required amongst the friends of order and religion, did not present itself more forcibly to Fr. Theiner. Even now, if it were useful or wholesome to prolong the controversy, we could cite twenty instances in which the author has been so ludicrously mis-informed as to make us painfully sensible how easy it is for even the most gifted and well intentioned to err when they accept anything upon authority that they have not absolutely tested. The entire work is as full of "on dits," on matters compromising the character of the Society, as a column of fashionable intelligence in the *Morning Post*. Many things are stated as fact, even without this qualification, for which the author gives no authority whatever, and some expressions applied to members of the Society and their acts, are wounding and intemperate to say the least. We shall confine ourselves to one instance of mis-statement just by way of sample, and if it be any justification of Fr. Theiner, to say that he makes it on the authority of a dispatch from the anti-Jesuit nuncio at Paris to his own court, the author is of course entitled to it. The Père de la Vrillière, an ex-Jesuit, son of the Duc de la Vrillière, according to the Nuncio and Fr. Theiner, indulged in language disrespectful to the Holy See, from the pulpit of the "Missions Etrangères," on the Feast of St. Francis Xavier, 1773, the year of the suppression; and not only was he suspended à divinis, by the Archbishop of Paris, the great Christophe de Beaumont, but his father, the Duc de la Vrillière, to punish him and put under control his intemperance of speech, sent him to make the spiritual exercises in the Grande Maison de Saint Lazare. Now it so happened the Nuncio must have been deceived, as there was no Jesuit, or ex-Jesuit of the name; and secondly, the Duc de la Vrillière never had children, and died shortly afterwards without an heir.

We might quote a great many other passages more or less false as to facts and dates, and we might confront Fr. Theiner of the "Pontificate of Clement XIV." with Fr. Theiner the historian of the Catholic Educational Institutes, but we have no desire to do so at present. One of the heads of accusation upon which Fr. Theiner justifies

the suppression of the society is the alleged decline, nay, the positive nullity of education, literary, philosophical, scientific and theological, in the houses of the society all the world over. As may well be imagined, nothing could be more hurtful to the feelings of the society or its friends, amongst whom, notwithstanding all that may be said to the contrary, the great mass of the friends of religion must be classed, than so outrageous a proposition. We are, therefore, more pleased than surprised to see this branch of the subject taken up by one who is not a Jesuit himself, but, being a labourer in the same field as the Jesuits, is thoroughly able to appreciate their system—its working and its results at every period of their history. The learned apologist, to whom we allude, is himself a Professor in a French College, maintaining an honourable rivalry with the Jesuit establishments, now so numerous and flourishing in France; the Abbe Maynard, honorary canon of Poitiers; and Professor of Rhetoric in the great establishment of Pontlevoy, has undertaken the vindication of the teaching of the society in a small but pithy volume, of which we have an American translation on our table, but which, unfortunately, reached us too late for more than mention. We only give expression to our earnest wish, in recommending the public to master it well. For our own part we have never seen more matter in so short a space. Some of the positions of Fr. Theiner in reference to this subject of the Jesuit teaching, are so singular in themselves, and so strangely at variance with his own previous ideas on the subject, that one is lost in astonishment at meeting with them. The most startling of all, perhaps, has regard to the reformation of University studies at Coimbra, after the expulsion of the society; "the execution of which important measure," says Fr. Theiner, "was intrusted by the king to the minister and the Council of Censure over which the Cardinal da Cunha presided, who, with the entire approbation of the Apostolic Nuncio, engaged in the glorious work of the scientific and literary regeneration of Portugal," surely one is tempted to say in God's name, When or how has Portugal been regenerated in any sense literary, political, or religious, much less gloriously regenerated? and the temptation is stronger when we remember Fr. Theiner's words in his "Annals of Religious Sciences for 1836," where he says "the Professors of the University of Coimbra have utterly destroyed

true science in Portugal. The Government of Pombal and its effects in Portugal furnish a most triumphant apology for the Society of Jesus." The teaching of the society in Germany fares no better in Fr. Theiner's hands—he says broadly that they found good theologians in Germany, and left none behind them at their suppression; that the long inferiority of German theology is due to their teaching, and its present advancement to their withdrawal; in substance, if not in terms, that Catholicity owes them nothing, and Protestantism a great deal. Yet as M. l'Abbé Maynard calls to mind, those great theologians whom the Jesuits found in Germany, had allowed twenty-one years to elapse in Vienna without an ordination, and the Protestants to outnumber the Catholics in the proportion of ten to one in those provinces where now the proportion is reversed, and reversed as all, Protestant and Catholic admit, by the instrumentality of the Jesuits; whose success in every department of instruction, sacred and profane, is acknowledged by none more candidly than by Protestants themselves. M. Maynard takes up every proposition of Fr. Theiner upon this matter seriatim; and there is nothing he shows more effectually, without any pomp of words, often by the mere catalogue of names, but in sober though vigorous language, than that at the very epoch of the suppression, and for years afterwards, the men most eminent in all the sciences, sacred and secular, were Jesuits, ex-Jesuits or pupils of the order. We cannot say how much we regret not being in a position to give some extracts from this admirable work.

Whoever thinks he can vindicate the memory of a Sovereign Pontiff does no more than his duty in making the attempt, and does much if he succeed. The "Popes in general, according to the motto chosen by the Père de Ravignan, from Le Maistre, only require truth for their defence, "*Les Papes n'ont besoin que de la Vérité*," and from studies such as those in which Fr. Theiner and our author have been engaged, prosecuted with simplicity of purpose, and afterwards made public without bitterness, nothing but good can result. There is no age of Church history not pregnant with lessons for the future and the present. The Church, in fact, has had throughout her annals one only enemy to deal with, and that one is the world. He shifts his ground or changes his tactics according to circumstances. Three hundred years ago his arms

offensive and defensive, were such as would now be accounted cumbrous and unserviceable ; but they were the best known at the time, and they answered the purpose just as well then, as his present weapons with all the modern improvements, serve him now. But there is still in his style of attack, whether he proceed by sap or storm, a something that keeps up his personal identity. For instance, no matter how impetuous his assault, no matter how obstinate his blockade, he is always ready to make terms specious and splendid, but perfidious and fatal. If a national church covet the riches and finery of his followers, he and they will soon oppress her with their bounty, as the Sabine soldiers rewarded the treason of the Roman maiden at the first siege of Rome. In the Middle Ages the attack was always made through the kings ; towards the close of the Middle Ages texts of Scripture were the pellets ; when Clement XIV. reigned, and the Jesuits were suppressed, philosophy was captain-general ; the attack now comes less from king and sophist than from the people ; from the savage selfishness of the passions, at once disorganized and organized of democracy. Protestantism decomposing into materialism, and a generating swarms of hungry ambitions, artificial wants, and stinging cupidities, from its very dissolution ; has filled the air with darkness and with murmurs. The earth seems to shake off thrones as though they sat heavy on her ; she thinks it mean to be the footstool even of God ; and believes, like her poor children, that she is self-poised and independent. The world has this time veiled his brows like Mokannah, and borrowing a new name, calls himself the State—a monster of the fancy, that is neither a man nor a corporation,—that is pulled down and set up at pleasure,—that is only known for a god like the dragon of the Assyrians, by all that it devours ; but that in every form is the enemy of the Church. This is not authority—the one is from God, the other from ourselves ; to the one we must render obedience, but to the other, which is the grand enemy, which is neither Cæsar nor the Commonwealth, but an abstraction of the economists, or if not an abstraction, an association of adventurers, we have only to offer opposition and defiance. Whether it attempt to fetter education, to confiscate our rights social or religious, to suppress convents, or oppress conscience, it must be encountered by every means that God and honour sanction. And in this conflict with the

world, whatever shape it borrow, king, corruption, heresiarch, sophist, socialist, or state ; the reverses and successes of the Church have been so uniform as to keep alert and vigorous the spirits of us who are in the struggle, and make us strong in hope. Threatening as things appear, how signal have not our successes been since the great convulsion of '48. Though Peidmont and Spain are, the one upon the steep incline, and the other in the very depth of anarchy ; yet the religious revival and enfranchisement of education in France and Austria ; the freshness of life and action in all that deserves the name of Catholic, all the world over ; and above everything, the consciousness that the storm cannot choose but overblow itself, that the waves must subside when the wind falls ; but that the rock is planted to defy both winds and waves, must give us heart and nerve. "I know at this time no less than a hundred and twenty-seven Jesuits between Charing Cross and Temple Bar," says Mr. Croker, in the "Good Natured Man." We cannot say so much of our own knowledge, but we can avouch the fact that, where there is anything like public opinion and personal freedom,—whatever be the form of government, the Jesuits have trebled their numbers within the last twenty years ; and that it is only under the most gross and besotted despotism, whether of the one, the few, or the many, that the Jesuits are proscribed, doubted, or feared. Nor is this increase confined to the Jesuits. In our own country, as in every other, where civil rights are protected by serious laws, religious communities of men and women, with no protection but that of justice, and no privilege but the right of citizenship, have successfully vindicated for themselves the inestimable liberty of association. Wherever revolution has not grown into confirmed anarchy, or subsided into flat despotism,—wherever it has not swept away the first notions of law along with all its ancient constitutions, the Church has been the gainer. Be it our part to struggle, not only with the spirit of the age, when we must, but in it when we can. To understand our position is to be master of it. Liberty has not made one real conquest that we cannot appropriate and secure, but let Providence shape events in the way it pleases, any time between the year of our Lord 1855 and the coming of Antichrist, the hopes of our enemies are not likely to be higher, nor the prospects of the Church more gloomy than they were the morning after

the publication of the Brief, "Dominus ac Redemptor." The Church is still upon her Rock, the Jesuits increase and multiply. ET NUNC REGES INTELLIGITE.

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ART. V.—1. *The Tablet*, 1855.

2. *The Weekly Register*, for August 1855.

AN action against a Catholic Priest or Prelate must *prima facie* suggest the suspicion of persecution; for there is a strong presumption that men invested with such a sacred character are not likely to have committed any such wrong or injustice, as appears to be implied in a liability to an action. An accurate acquaintance, indeed, with the law of England, might inform us that, as it is not always identical with justice, its infraction might not necessarily involve any infringement of moral right; but there would, of course, be no very material difference between the false imputation of that which would be a moral wrong, and the unjust enforcement of a legal right. So, that any how, one is naturally disposed to suspect that an action against a Catholic ecclesiastic is likely to prove a piece of persecution. And any one who has been engaged in a suit, even as the party suing, and knows that even *that* is such a cause of anxiety and annoyance; so wearing and worrying in its effects, that it can scarcely be compared to anything else in civilized life, can well conceive that to be the party *sued*, must be a source of such vexation as to make the suit, if unjust, no slight piece of persecution. Nor will it be much mitigated by the consciousness of its injustice. On the contrary, that is the very sting of the injury. Upon the hypothesis we assume—that the party sued is a person of conscience—of course there could scarcely be a *just* suit against him; for if he felt, not merely that there was any sort of right to compensation, but that compensation could be conceded without com-



promise to character—the conceding it would be a cheap means of purchasing peace and exemption from an annoyance less endurable than any mere pecuniary loss. But it is the sense of the injustice of the suit, coupled with the sense of the glorious uncertainty of the law—the “law’s delays”—and the state of intermediate suspense as to the ultimate issue—it is all this, which, even in any case of an unjust suit, contributes so great a cause of vexation as often to induce even laymen to make great concessions to avoid litigation. And the annoyance would, of course, be greater in proportion to the sacredness of the party’s character, and the sensitiveness of his nature. Such an one will feel more keenly the vexation, while, on the other hand, the very sacredness of his character, and the sense of what is due to it, will make him more averse to the least approach to anything like the compromise of a charge; so that the very same conscientiousness which would preserve him from a just suit, will render him less likely to get rid of an *unjust* one. These are considerations which must make an action at law against a Cardinal Archbishop (we believe the first on the legal annals of England; certainly the first legal procedure against a Catholic Prelate of such rank, since the information filed against Cardinal Wolsey under Henry VIII.) a matter of no small interest. The fact that the action was brought against him by one of his clergy, has, of course, painfully enhanced the interest: the farther fact that the action was notoriously promoted by Protestants, has lent to it still more of public and Catholic interest, and stamped upon it unmistakeably that character, which, even apart from such positive evidence, would have been *a priori*, a matter of fair presumption. To all this it may be added, that even independent of any reference to the parties, there have been points in the history and nature of the action calculated to impart to it great legal and moral interest. Nor is this all, for the greatest organ of English feeling, the *Times*, thought the occasion worthy of repeated endeavours to attract public attention to the suit, and excite public expectation to the hoped-for issue, as likely to prove discreditable to the illustrious Prelate, and thus to “inflict a heavy blow and great discouragement” upon the Catholic Church in this country. Now, under these circumstances we are disinclined to let it pass away without any further reference or

record than has been afforded in the columns of our excellent hebdomadal contemporaries.

A few words by way—as the lawyers say—of preamble. Some years ago, the Cardinal, then Bishop or Vicar Apostolic of the London district, thought it right to remove the priests of the Islington mission, (which was then in a state of some embarrassment,) with the view of effecting a change of system. The senior priest, the pastor of the mission, an excellent and worthy man, at once acquiesced in his Bishop's desire, and departed in peace.\* There was an *assistant* priest, answering to a licensed curate in an Established Church; not the pastor of the mission: not even attached to the diocese—a priest who had lately been led to leave the Jesuits,† and had been placed upon the mission by Dr. Griffiths. This priest resided in the mission-house, to fit up which that venerable Prelate had given him £150, and he now objected to leave, at all events without receiving “compensation” for monies he alleged he had laid out on the house.‡ A correspondence ensued between

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\* Indeed we understand that he had applied to be removed.

† By means of their tendering to him one of the vows of their order which he declined to take; the consequence being, as he knew, that he must leave the order. This was in substance the account he himself gave at the Kingston trial; there is no English word to express precisely the effect of such a mode of leaving. It is not exactly expulsion; and most certainly it is not a voluntary departure. The French language afforded an expression suited to the case, and the Cardinal used it; *renvoyé*.

‡ The claim was £600!!! We should be curious to see the *items* of which this claim was composed, and deeply regret that reluctant coyness which led the reverend gentleman to withhold them. It would be edifying to know how, (*in addition* to £150. received from the bishop,) the assistant priest of an embarrassed mission could have laid out £600. in fitting up a house! Seven hundred and fifty pounds were represented as lost or laid out in repairs, furniture, or fittings; by which must be understood, we presume, fittings such as could not be removed; for surely the reverend gentleman could hardly expect compensation for things he could remove and carry away with him! No wonder the bishop asked for items, and no wonder they were not forthcoming. Moreover the fact that Bishop Griffiths gave £150. for the purpose, surely serves to signify what he deemed sufficient for it. Does it not stir one's blood to think of a noble-minded and generous prelate

him and Bishop Wiseman, of which the upshot was this; that the Right Rev. Prelate invited him to lay an estimate before the Diocesan Board or Council, (composed, as we all know, of some of the most respected and experienced priests in the diocese,) but this the priest declined to do: and still objected to leave the mission house, until, after preparations were made with a view to legal procedure, he ultimately left, and published the correspondence by way of appeal to the congregation and the Catholic public. Of this step he afterwards professed to see the impropriety, and, generally upon the whole transaction, made a submission to the Bishop, upon which a reconciliation took place. He had declined, however, other mission work which was offered him by the Bishop,\* and so matters remained. This was about the time of the hierarchy. Some time afterwards there appeared in the *Ami de Religion* letters signed by the editor, the Abbé Cognat, violently assailing the Cardinal for arbitrary conduct towards his clergy, and especially commenting on the case of this priest as one of great cruelty on the part of the Cardinal; drawing a pathetic picture of a "venerable priest" driven out of his sacred duties by the Cardinal, compelled from necessity to betake himself to secular employment to support himself! Surely the most saintly man might not only be excused, but justified in feeling an honest indignation at being so held up to execration before all Europe, in a charge for which there was not the least shadow of foundation. Moreover, there was internal evidence on the face of the

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being held up to the world as "arbitrary" or harsh, because he did not concede such a claim as this! And yet this was the gravamen of the plaintiff's grievance. The libel was the technical formal ground of complaint; but the real cause of the action, after years of interval, was the *removal*.

It was represented in the speech of the plaintiff's counsel, (in which we hope he exceeded his instructions,) that all compensation had been refused. This was an egregious and calumnious untruth, as the printed correspondence proves. The Cardinal had asked for particulars of the claim, and was willing that it should be submitted to a body of brother priests of the claimant's. What could be fairer? And could calumny go further than representing this as harsh or unjust? Surely the force of slander could no further go!

\* And we believe also by another prelate.

letter that it could not have been written by the French editor, the Abbé, whose name it bore, but that its authorship was English. Further, as the facts of the case it referred to could only have been derived, mediately or immediately, from the priest in question, and he had declared upon his submission and reconciliation, that he had suppressed his pamphlet, containing the correspondence, the only record of the case that had been published; the inference was a most natural one, that he had written, or been concerned in writing the article in the *Ami de Religion*; an inference, however, not very important, as it was manifest that the materials for the charge must have come at all events mediately and remotely from him.\*

The Cardinal deemed, (and who can doubt,) that it was necessary for the vindication of his character, in the eyes of the French episcopate, and of all Europe, that he should publish an explanation of the case. And he wrote such vindication in English accordingly, and placed it at the disposal of the *Univers*. Be it observed that the *gravamen* of the accusation was arbitrary and unjust conduct to his clergy. The *instance* adduced was the removal of Mr. Boyle. And this was made the means of aiming a blow at the Cardinal's conduct in regard to the hierarchy, for it was said that Mr. Boyle had been removed on account of his opposition to the "ultramontane" party, to whom the hierarchy was ascribed, and that he was (a venerable and oppressed priest,) a specimen of many others, (equally venerable and experienced, if not equally oppressed,) who were opposed to the establishment of the hierarchy, and chiefly upon that ground disapproved of the conduct of the Cardinal, who had promoted the measure. It was not, therefore, only the character of the Archbishop but the conduct of the Holy See which was attacked, for the establishment of the hierarchy was the act of the Holy See; and the wisdom of the Chair of St. Peter was not the less impeached because it was suggested that it had

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\* We have heard that a priest, well known in Paris, informed a friend of the Cardinal's that he had seen one of the letters in its original English, and that the name of the author was like Doyle. It is not a point of any importance, but it is a curious fact that in the Guildford cause list, the name of the plaintiff was actually spelt Doyle.

been deceived by the Cardinal ; a supposition not very consistent with any theory whatever of Papal Infallibility or Papal Supremacy. It became, then, of importance that Europe and the Church should be informed how far the priest referred to in this article as a specimen of others of similar opinions upon the subject, represented the pious and zealous clergy of England, and it was almost as much in defence of them, or of the Holy See, as of himself, that the Cardinal took up the pen. His Eminence chose, as the channel of his vindication, (and he could scarcely have chosen any other,) the channel through which he had been assailed, and he appealed to the press, as the only available means of giving speedy and general circulation to his defence of the Holy See, of his clergy, and of himself. Of the Holy See, for its conduct in establishing the hierarchy depended a good deal on the feelings of the English clergy with regard to it ; of the clergy, for it was represented that they very generally disapproved of it ; and of himself, as accused of arbitrary conduct, dictated by favouritism and ambition. It was the *gravamen* of the charge that the priest referred to had been persecuted for his opposition to the conduct of the Cardinal, and that he favourably and fairly represented the English clergy. That being the *gravamen* of the charge, of course the gist of the defence was, that this priest, whoever he was, did not fairly represent the English clergy, and that the specific statements made with respect to him showed that he did not, or were unfounded in fact. It is to be observed that neither in the attack, nor in the answer, was the *name* of the priest mentioned ; he could only be identified by the circumstances mentioned in the *Ami de Religion*, and the Cardinal could only assume that the facts stated of him (except so far as he knew them to be false,) were true. One of the facts so stated, as to which the Cardinal of course hardly knew whether it was true or false, was, that the priest in question was engaged in an office. This was stated in the attack, and the Cardinal assumed it to be true, and said if so, there was only one priest in his arch-diocese to whom it could possibly apply, and so he identified him. Thinking it, for the reasons above referred to, very important that the antecedents of this priest should be known, so that it should, on the one hand, be seen that he did not fairly represent the English clergy, and, on the other hand, that the specific statements made with respect

to him were false, the Cardinal alluded to him as having been *renvoyé* from the Jesuits, a word which he carefully wrote in French in his English manuscript, but in the place of which the word "*expulsé*" appeared in the French version which the *Univers* put forth. This letter was translated into the *Tablet* and *Standard*, and of course that word was translated "expelled." And in those two allusions consisted, we believe, the *gist* of the alleged "libel," for which forthwith an action was brought against the Cardinal, in the Court of Exchequer, by the Rev. Richard Boyle, who, in his declaration, set forth the letter as it appeared in print in the *Univers*, *Tablet*, and *Standard*, complained that the Cardinal had "*maliciously*" published a "*false and malicious libel*" against him, the Rev. Richard Boyle, in his *character as a Catholic priest*, deprived him of preferment (!) and so forth. So here were four things charged,—1. That the letter was a libel; 2. That the libel related to Mr. Boyle; 3. That the *Cardinal published it as it appeared in print*; 4. That he published it *maliciously*. The first was a question of law, and, we believe, depended mainly on the word *expulsé*, which, as we have seen, the Cardinal never wrote. If anything else in the letter was libellous, it could only be the allusion to the employment in an office, which surely could scarcely be slanderous! and if it were, was innocently adopted and assumed to be true by the Cardinal, on account of its being stated in the article in the *Ami*.

It is a curious thing that an action should have been brought for a supposed libel, in saying of a man that he had been dismissed from the Jesuits; seeing that Holt held it in his time a libel to say of a man that he was a Papist, on account of the laws against Popery; upon which principle it would surely rather be libellous to say of a man that he was a Jesuit, than that he had left the Jesuits, or even had been expelled by them; for *non constat* but that it might have been for not conforming to those "mysteries of iniquity" which Mr. Drummond imputes to them. Anyhow it might have suggested some suspicions to Mr. Boyle, when he found his action very much patronized by certain zealous Protestants,—that this sympathy could scarcely arise from sincere zeal on behalf of a Popish priest, complaining of an imputation on his character *as a Priest*, and especially in connection with the order of the Jesuits!



However, Mr. Boyle found friends among the Protestants,—they opened a subscription in support of the action which, in due course proceeded. And the first question the Cardinal's adviser had to consider was, what he should *plead*.\* Those advisers were, of course, Mr. Sergeant Shee, and with him Mr. Bramwell, one of the most sensible men at the bar, Mr. Willes, now a judge, and Mr. Baddeley. The question depended chiefly upon the nature of the Cardinal's defence. And that, as we have seen, was, 1, that he had never published, nor authorised the publication of the letter *as printed*, containing the expression principally, if not exclusively obnoxious: 2, that without that expression there was no libel: 3, that even assuming that there was, there was no legal malice, because the circumstances of the occasion rebutted the presumption of malice ordinarily arising from the publication of a libel. All these three grounds of defence arose under the plea of *not guilty*, which included not merely (as people loosely supposed) the publication by some one of some sort of libel, but the publication *by the Cardinal of the precise letter, printed and complained of*. These were the real grounds of defence. It was impossible to plead the truth of the libel, (in legal language to "justify,") for that plea, 1, would confess the malice; 2, would confess the publication of the libel *as printed*, (both which things the Cardinal *denied*, and could not *admit*,) and 3, it would require proof of the precise terms used in print, which was impossible, because the term *expulsion* was not true. More-

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\* It would be inexcusable to mention this distinguished lawyer without paying him our tribute of admiration for the wise, able, and masterly manner in which he conducted this most trying cause, which tasked to the utmost in its successive stages, all the rare and excellent qualities of a great advocate. Mr. Sergeant Shee combines some of the most rare and most valuable of them,—moral dignity, manly firmness, and undisturbable good humour; and these invaluable attributes which have gained him in a very unusual degree the respect of the Bench and the affection of the bar—were displayed in an extraordinary degree on the different occasions on which this cause came into court. Moreover the Sergeant possesses a manly and commanding eloquence which was exerted most powerfully at the second trial. His speech was really a splendid effort of forensic eloquence; and if he failed with the jury, he ultimately succeeded with the court.

over, the declaration stated that the Cardinal had written and published the alleged libel in the *French* language. This was utterly false; for the letter to the Editor of the *Univers* was written in *English*, with the exception of the word *renvoyé*, which was inserted in French to prevent mistake, thinking no English word precisely conveying the meaning of the French word. Further, the declaration stated that the Cardinal had caused the alleged libel to be translated and published in the *Tablet* and the *Catholic Standard*. This also was quite false, the Cardinal having had no concern whatever in the publication. Was the Cardinal to confess as against himself, all these untrue statements? If not, he was driven to plead not guilty; and a plea of justification would have confessed the truth of their false assertions. Hence, therefore, the Cardinal's advisers resolved to plead simply *not guilty*. And so the cause came down for trial in 1854 at the Summer Assizes for Surrey, before Lord Chief Baron Pollock, at Guildford.

We have been particular in explaining the grounds upon which the Cardinal pleaded *not guilty*, because, in court on the day of trial, out of court after trial, at the second trial, and in the press, it was actually made matter of coarse imputation upon the Cardinal, that he had pleaded a false plea! The son of a Peer—a member of the Bar—of high and honourable character, was so carried away by prejudice, as to exclaim to the writer, that it was “discreditable;” and this was the general feeling expressed at the bar and in the best society. Could there be a more remarkable and lamentable instance of the force of prejudice! Here were amiable and honourable men, so in haste to condemn, so eager to mulct and convict a Catholic Prelate, that they professed to be indignant with him for presuming to balk their desire for vengeance, by interposing the ordinary rules of law, and refusing to admit that he had done what he had *not* done, and published what he had taken pains *not* to publish! Not in this spirit did the Lord Chief Baron try the cause. A wonderful and venerable man; considerably above the age of seventy,—yet, with eye undimmed, and faculties unimpaired, and the native nobleness of his soul unaffected by the perverting power of prejudice,—a lofty-minded judge, in moral character much resembling the late Lord Denman, and like him incapable of lending himself to the petty purposes of persecution.

Many years have elapsed since the writer recognized in Sir Frederick Pollock those qualities by which he had long elevated and adorned the Bar, and now dignifies the Bench. Therefore, the eulogies now applied to Sir F. Pollock, are not merely dictated by his conduct on this occasion, which the writer, with confidence anticipated, from the known character of the Lord Chief Baron. The Cardinal received from him a kind and considerate courtesy, which contrasted sadly and shamefully with the rancour and malevolence exhibited towards the illustrious Primate by some Catholics and many Protestants. The Lord Chief Baron recognized the claims to respect of illustrious attainments and exalted ecclesiastical rank, and he showed that he perfectly appreciated the spirit of the action.

The Cardinal was kindly accommodated in the Lord Chief Baron's room during the trial, for which the plaintiff had *subpoenaed* him as a witness. They were not anxious, however, to call him if they could avoid it, as his evidence, of course, might destroy their case, and they strove to prove his publication of a letter which he had *not* published, by producing the Rev. Hardinge Ivers, who said *he* had written the article in the *Ami*: and offered to produce notes of a letter he professed to have seen from the Cardinal to the Abbé Cognat, in Paris, admitting, or alluding to his authorship of the letter. The Cardinal's counsel objected, that the original should be produced, and could not thus be superseded. The Lord Chief Baron, after consulting Mr. Justice Erle, decided in favour of the objection; and when, after exhausting in vain all endeavours to prove the publication, the plaintiff's counsel called "Cardinal Wiseman," and the Cardinal's counsel objected that he could not be called on to give evidence against himself, in a procedure for libel, which might be made matter for criminal prosecution, (as in the case of Dr. Newman it was), the Lord Chief Baron, having determined the point in favour of the Cardinal, declined to compel His Eminence to appear in the box, as his appearance there would answer no purpose but annoyance. The plaintiff's counsel showed the utmost eagerness to have the Cardinal in the box, although the Judge had ruled that he could be asked no question as to the publication—the sole point at issue. And it was obvious that the only motive was the desire to inflict annoyance, and take vengeance for a failure which it was now seen was inevitable. In vain. The Lord Chief

Baron was firm, and, amidst much excitement, non-suited the plaintiff.

The streets of Guildford were filled that day with gentlemen—barristers, clergymen, and others, who could not conceal their rage, that a Roman Cardinal should have found justice before a British Judge. "The non-suit will be set aside!" they exclaimed. So it was. But how? The action was in the Court of Exchequer. Mr. Justice Erle, who had, upon consultation, agreed with the Lord Chief Baron, did not sit in that court, and the said Chief Baron (who retained his opinion, and yielded with reluctance,) was outvoted by two Judges, neither of whom was superior to himself, or Mr. Justice Erle, in strength and breadth of mind, or reputation in legal learning. To this it may be added, that it was in this case, now decided for the first time in the history of the English law, that a witness might give from memory an account of a letter he had seen in a foreign country, addressed by the defendant to a foreigner residing abroad!

The reasons for objecting to such a doctrine were confirmed by the result, at the second trial at Surrey Lent Assizes, before Mr. Baron Platt, at Kingston. The case now came before a very different kind of Judge,—one so liable to prejudice, and so violent in his prejudice, that, before he had been long on the Bench, he became involved in a painful encounter with Sir Alexander Cockburn, who, being counsel in a case\* just about to be called on, heard the learned Baron make observations calculated to prejudice his client before the jury were sworn, and, therefore, with characteristic spirit, vehemently remonstrated, and threw up his brief. The learned Baron, nevertheless, insisted upon trying the case, but the verdict was set aside by the court. Such was the Judge who had now to try the cause of *Boyle v. Wiseman*.

Hardly had the case began, before he roughly exclaimed, that there was "nothing to try!" and soon after, when the Cardinal's counsel offered the original letter, cried out, "You dont offer them what they want!" (i. e. an admission of the authorship of the letter *as published*,) to which Mr. (now Justice) Willes made in an expressive tone, this reply; "*Because they have no right to*

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\* *Goldecutt v. Beagin*. 11 Jurist, 544.

it!" which would have had its effect upon a Judge whose feelings were less violent, but more sensitive. However, the learned Baron soon found a witness to his mind, and was restored to good humour by the Rev. Hardinge Ivers, who proffered, as before; notes, from memory, of the letter written by the Cardinal to the Editor of the *Ami*, alluding to the letter which had appeared in the *Univers*. The Cardinal's counsel offered the original. The plaintiff's counsel declined it, preferring the "notes" of Mr. Ivers—why, we shall soon see. The witness swore positively, repeatedly, and deliberately, that it was *not* the original! The Cardinal's counsel at once offered to produce evidence that it was.\* The Baron declined to receive the evidence, and rejected the original letter, allowing the witness to give his version of it, which was, that the Cardinal admitted the authorship of the letter. Then the plaintiff's counsel put in the letter as *printed*. The Cardinal's counsel offered the *manuscript*; it was declined, and the judge rejected it. So the publication was proved. And now the only question was as to damages.

The plaintiff's counsel on this point principally dwelt upon the removal from Islington, *four years before the libel!* The Baron was so carried away by his feelings that he forgot for some time that a libel published in 1854 could hardly have caused what happened in 1850! And he dwelt upon it even more forcibly than Mr. James! Reminded, at last, of the difficulty of finding any connection of cause and effect, he gave the jury a cold caution not to give damages on account of the removal, which they, of course, disregarded, and returned a verdict for the plaintiff, *damages one thousand pounds!* To appreciate this perfectly it must be observed, that there was not an atom of evidence of any actual damage,—not a suggestion of any special damage; but there was evidence that the plaintiff

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\* It is hardly necessary to assure the reader that it was so. This was one reason why the plaintiff did not venture to risk another trial. The real letter did *not* contain the expression relied on by the plaintiff, and to which the witness, on the faith of his "notes from memory" had sworn. He swore that the letter proffered had been altered! Four affidavits were filed contradicting his testimony on that point. Does not this show the peril of admitting such evidence, and the wisdom of Lord C. B. Pollock and Mr. Justice Erle in refusing to admit it?

had, for some time before the libel, ceased to exercise missionary faculties. So it was impossible that in his priestly character he could be worse off after the libel than before it; and it was *only in his priestly* character that he complained, nor on any other score was there any libel at all! An English Protestant jury gave a *thousand pounds* against a Catholic ecclesiastic, for a libel which not only was not shown to have done any real damage, but it was proved by the facts of the case, could have done no damage; and at the very same assizes, a jury only gave £100. for a most malicious and atrocious libel, calculated and designed utterly to destroy a man in a profession he was carrying on—a charge imputing gross and scandalous misconduct. Let us then appreciate the impartiality of a Protestant jury under the sanction of an oath. Even a hundred pounds is a very rare amount to give in action for libel, and the only instance we recollect in recent times of a *thousand pounds*, was one in which the libel imputed flagrant immorality, and was couched in terms of the most beastly indecency, and *the court reduced the verdict to £200*. Again, we say, let us appreciate the impartiality of a Protestant jury! Most fortunate is it that the *Judges* have power to set aside a monstrous verdict; and they did so. Honour to the Court of Exchequer! They showed that justice has not left the old Hall of Westminster, where Cardinals have sat as Chancellors, and where Sir Thomas More once held the Seals.

Although, however, the court set aside the verdict on the ground of improper rejection and improper reception of evidence, and also on the ground of monstrous excess of damages, (and it is only when the amount is really monstrous and extravagant that a verdict can be set aside on that ground), so that they condemned both judge and jury, they refused to set it aside on a ground which would have destroyed the action altogether, viz., that the publication, assuming it to be proved, was privileged, and thereby they did most significantly condemn the Law. Even upon the theory on which the law of England deals with libel, and upon the principles it applies to the question of privilege, the decision condemns it, presuming it to have been correct, which we will not presume to dispute. For the court admitted that the law allowed the presumption of malice to be rebutted by circumstances disproving its existence, and also admitted the principle that the pre-



sumption was rebutted whenever the party published the libel for the purpose of self-defence in a matter involving either his interest or his duty. And in a case decided in 1849, by the Court of Common Pleas,\* the doctrine was laid down in such terms, and under circumstances so similar, as almost to justify a suspicion that if the same law in the Cardinal's case had been adhered to, the action could not possibly have been maintained. The plaintiff in that case was a dissenting preacher, and he sued for words far stronger than in the present case, imputing downright dishonesty. The libel was written to a person who had acted for the plaintiff in the course of a correspondence arising out of an invitation to defendant by that person, with the plaintiff's concurrence, to investigate certain charges brought against the plaintiff. The court held the letter privileged. And Lord Chief Justice Wilde, (now Lord Truro,) said, in giving judgment, "The sole object of his communications with the defendant was to discuss the matter which the defendant had alleged against the plaintiff, with a view of establishing that the imputation against the plaintiff was unfounded, with the intention of the result being known to the congregation." The Court of Exchequer, when this idea was cited, distinguished it on two grounds; first, that in the Cardinal's case the plaintiff had not written the attack upon him in the *Ami*; and, secondly, that the Cardinal had published the answer to it in another newspaper, the *Univers*. If these distinctions are valid in law, they are not so either in justice or good sense, for how could it affect the Cardinal's right to defend himself, that the attack was or was not, (and how could he tell whether it was or was not,) written by the plaintiff? And how could he effectually defend himself from an attack in the press except by publication in the press? Added to which, in 1827 the Court of Common Pleas decided in a similar case,† where there had been a printed circular published—that the publication would have been privileged but for certain evidence of personal malice in the defendant. If, however, the decision in the Court of Exchequer was sound law, at least it was not sound sense, and that we may venture to say, because we know

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\* *Hopwood v. Thorn*, 19 Law Journal, C. P. 94.

† *Blackburn v. Blackburn*, 4 Bing. 395.

that the courts of law in this country have been of late years much divided and perplexed by questions of privilege in actions of libel, and next, because in this very case Mr. Boyle having sued the *Univers* in the French courts, they decided *against* the action, upon the very ground mainly urged by the Cardinal in the English courts, that the circumstances negated that presumption of malice, without which the action for libel cannot be maintained. It is not one of the least interesting features of this remarkable cause, that it should thus have brought into opposition the courts of England and of France, on a question of law of great social and moral importance. And the full significance of the fact would not be appreciated unless it were observed that the French law, as it is obviously in accordance with justice and common sense, is also in accordance with the moral theology of the Catholic Church, which formed the basis of the common law in all Christian countries anterior to the Reformation, and with which the law of England, before that event, was, to a far greater extent than it is now, in accordance.\*

Well, the cause came down for a third trial at the Surrey summer assizes before Mr. Justice Wightman at Croydon. Either before that learned and experienced judge, or before his colleague in the commission, Mr. Justice Creswell, both clear-headed and impartially minded men, the plaintiff's counsel saw that there was no chance of "snatching a verdict;" and as their case, as respected proof of publication, was so bad, as to render any chance of success except by such means utterly hopeless—proposals for a compromise—thrown out after the rule for a new trial had been granted, were renewed. Anxious as the Cardinal's advisers were to spare him the annoyance of any further litigation, they, nevertheless, could not consent to

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\* Before the Reformation actions for defamation were either of spiritual cognizance, or at all events from whatever cause, so unknown, that we believe no instance can be detected of such an action. After the Reformation the Courts were speedily flooded with such actions. This is one of the most remarkable facts in our history; and what follows from it is very important, that the law as to defamation is pure Protestant law. Is that the reason it is so monstrously inconsistent with justice and common sense, and still more with Christianity?

any compromise of the action, or of the cause of complaint, because they felt that he had not been guilty of that of which Baron Platt coarsely and cruelly accused him, of publishing a false and malicious libel. False it was not, except in particulars as to which, either it had been published in a form in which he had not written it, or in an immaterial point in which he had been misled by his assailant; and malicious it was not at all, as it was written for the purpose of a just and necessary vindication. His advisers, therefore, declined to accede to any verdict for any damages, however small,—not even forty shillings, or a farthing. They also declined to adopt any kind of apology or retraction. It was pressed upon them that the plaintiff had by his three failures been put to enormous expense, and although there had been a subscription amongst some zealous Protestants, yet it may be assumed that the funds had proved insufficient, and that as the chance of success diminished, the subscribers were less disposed to contribute. It was represented to the Cardinal's advisers, that though he did not write the libel as printed, and had actually directed a correction of the only error of importance, yet that it had been published, and was in one respect—that referred to—untrue; and it was urged that he might, at all events, pay a portion of the costs. This was assented to. And the consequence was, that when for the last time a Protestant jury were about to be empannelled to try the case of *Wiseman v. Boyle*, they were doomed to be utterly disappointed; without a word being said, the record was withdrawn, and they were sworn in the next case; with looks of blank surprise and baffled spite. Such was the “lame and impotent conclusion” of the cause in a *legal* point of view. Practically, as the Cardinal of course will have to pay his own costs, in addition to that portion of the plaintiff's which his advisers had engaged to pay, the probability is that the champions of moderate Catholicism, aided by Protestant zeal, will have succeeded in inflicting upon the Cardinal Archbishop, in addition to a twelvemonth's annoyance, a fine not far short of the sum for which the impartial Surrey jury returned their verdict. The *money* may be replaced; the wear and tear of mind, the worry of spirit, and the keen sense of unkindness, injustice, and wrong, are not so easily compensated. Nor will any who heard ever forget the speeches of the plaintiff's counsel, nor the contumely and obloquy

which the advocate of a Catholic Priest was instructed to heap upon an illustrious Catholic Prelate. But morally what is the result and aspect of the case? Setting aside its exposure of the infirmity of English Judges, the partiality of English juries, and the iniquity of English Law, what does the issue of the case show? The plaintiff's counsel represented the client as the champion of the moderate English Catholics, suffering for their opposition to the extreme views of the "ultramontane" party, headed by the Cardinal. Well, this was the battle field of that moderate party, if there is such a party, which the plaintiff instructed his counsel to make. The assailants chose the field; they selected the weapons; they entrapped the Cardinal by a newspaper attack into a newspaper defence. And then they challenged him in an action for libel, mainly upon the strength of a mistake for which he was not responsible, and which he had promptly corrected. They narrowed their cause to a miserably small issue. They made in each successive encounter a miserably small muster, they met ultimately with a miserable discomfiture. They snatched a verdict for once by evidence which was contradicted by numerous affidavits. They had declared that the clergy of England disapproved of the Hierarchy, and were not friendly to its head: but only three clerical assailants came forward—the plaintiff, and his two witnesses, Mr. Ivers, and one other priest from a different diocese. The question in substance was whether these priests and the letters in the *Ami* represented the Catholic clergy of England: and the history and issue of the cause showed clearly that they did not. This was the question which the Cardinal originally came forward to settle. Like all men who have the courage to stand forth in defence of a great cause he has suffered, but he has succeeded.

Moreover, it has been made manifest that the real cause of the action was the removal from Islington. That was what the plaintiff's counsel harped upon in his truculent speeches at Guildford and at Kingston. That was what the calm one-sided Baron Platt dwelt upon with so much bitterness, until reminded that it had nothing to do with the case. That was what the jury gave damages for; the libel was so unsubstantial that it could only call for nominal damages. So well was this understood, that the moment the court of Exchequer declared that damages could on no

account be given for the *removal*, the plaintiff's counsel prepared to relinquish the action. Then it was not really an action for libel. Practically it was an action for the *removal*; and it is in this point of view that the action is of the deepest moral and historical interest. In ecclesiastical history it will have a melancholy distinction. It is, we believe, as the Editor of the *Weekly Register* remarked, the first instance of an action by a priest against his Bishop, for an act in the discharge of his spiritual and pastoral duty. That the removal from Islington was such an act who can question? Rightly or wrongly, it was done by the then Vicar Apostolic, as the Pastor and Bishop of the Diocese, and it was an act which related to the pastorate of a particular parish or chapel. Then the action was brought against the Bishop for a letter in which he had explained and vindicated the reasons for the removal. It is immaterial whose was the attack upon him which called for the explanation. It is enough that it was called for. It was given, and justly given. It was made the technical ground of an action for libel; in which the real complaint was as to the removal. This was then an action by an assistant-Priest or Curate, who could not possibly have canonical rights (even had canon law been established) against his Bishop, for removing him from a mission from which the senior priest had already been removed, for reasons he had well and wisely acquiesced in. Whatever the merits of the action, however, it was the first of its kind, and we hope it will be the last. The long annals of the Church present, we believe, no instance of such an action as the suit of a priest against his bishop for removing him from a mission, more especially after a submission and professed reconciliation. Is a secular tribunal under any circumstances to be resorted to by a priest in such a case? This is a grave question, to which, surely, there can be but one answer. There can be little doubt that the action would never have been brought, but under Protestant persuasions. That the removal was rightful the plaintiff had already acknowledged by his submission. If it were not so, or if the Cardinal's letter were wrongful, there was an appeal open to the Holy See. And as regards the letter, the fair and proper course even for a man indisposed to abide by a spiritual tribunal's decision was—to reply to the letter in the press. But no: an action was brought, of which of course the result could

not be otherwise than vexation and expense.—Was it brought for that? If so, it has certainly succeeded; and the Protestant subscribers and Catholic sympathizers have had something for their money. They have inflicted great annoyance and a heavy fine upon a Catholic Prelate. But there are successes which bring no consolation, and win no honour.

For a Priest to have resisted removal on the score of claims for “compensation,” which he refused to refer to the arbitrament of brother-priests, and then to have sued his Bishop, and made the gist of his complaint that removal, is surely something not to be recalled by any priest without regret; while as to the Bishop, it certainly may be regarded, with or without reference to the merits of the case, as more or less a case of suffering for the integrity and sanctity of his high office. If Bishops are to be assailed with virulent attacks for removing priests, or by expensive law-suits for answering such attacks by explanations of the grounds of removal—the Pastoral office will be exercised under terror of the secular law, and their priests regarded as their future prosecutors. Is this a state of things which any Catholic can contemplate without pain? Yet that was the state of things to which this action tended to conduct us, had it not been manfully and successfully resisted. For that resistance, surely the Cardinal Archbishop will receive, among good Catholics, loyal and dutiful sympathy.

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ART. VI.—*Allocuzione della Santità di Nostro Signore Pio PP. IX. Al sacro Collegio vel Consistoro Segreto dei 22. Gennajo 1855. Seguita da una Esposizione Corredata di documenti sulle incessanti Cure della Stessa Santità Sua a Riparo dei Gravi mali da cui è afflitta la Chiesa Cattolica nel Regno di Sardegna. Roma, 1855.*

**WE** are constantly told that the British nation must look with the deepest interest and sympathy on the Sardinian States, because in that country a constitutional



system, based on the principles of our own, has stood the shock of those convulsions which have proved fatal to other polities of like nature in our time, and is now being worked with at least some outward show of success. This view is perfectly natural in a country like ours which takes great pride in its national institutions, and boasts that they are the envy of surrounding nations. We do not wish to interfere with feelings so patriotic and gratifying with reference to Sardinia. But at the same time we ask our readers to take a nearer and a more practical view of men and affairs in that country in order to see what is the real working of that piece of political machinery which shows so fair in the columns of newspapers, and in the speeches of Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell. And, as the entire subject would exceed our limits, we will confine ourselves to the ecclesiastical affairs of the States of the House of Savoy, and their relation with the Holy See. This branch of Sardinian politics will give a solution to several difficult questions and illustrate divers interesting matters regarding the working of constitutional governments ;—and its investigation will place in a true light affairs and events of the highest religious and political importance, which prejudice and falsehood have distorted and misrepresented.

We must in the first place advert to two notions rooted in public opinion here, and supported even by statesmen in both Houses of Parliament. The first is, that in the Sardinian States a "Protestant Reformation" is going on, and that that country is becoming Protestant: and the second is that the body of the nation, headed by its king and its parliament, are engaged in a struggle for independence against the Holy See, and against the clergy of the Catholic Church. Both these propositions are totally false.

With regard to the first,—any one acquainted with the country must know that the mass of the nation is thoroughly Catholic, and that Protestantism is contrary to the spirit and disposition of the people. Much has no doubt been done by the government to shake their religious sentiments, and to detach the rising generation from the Church of their fathers. The present prime minister, Count de Cavour, is naturally favourable to a Protestant propagandism, because his mother was a Genevese Calvinist. He has moreover imbibed the English notion that

constitutional liberty cannot flourish except hand in hand with Protestantism ; and we shall see that the position of his administration as well as of that of some of his predecessors naturally placed the ministry in a state of hostility towards the Church. His principal colleague, Rattazzi, is a man bred in the secret societies, thoroughly imbued with their principles and intrigues, and raised from obscurity by the influence of those detestable associations. The consequence is, that the influence of the government is against the Catholic Church. Thus, a system of public education has been established on the purely secular plan, —an irreligious press has been encouraged or tacitly allowed to corrupt the minds of the people, and the Universities of Genoa and Turin have been reduced to a low condition by the promotion to professorships of partizans of the government, mostly refugees, without learning or talent, but fully prepared to encourage latitudinarianism and infidelity. The effect of all this on the rising generation is terrible, and calculated to sow the seeds of future revolution and anarchy. But it would be a mistake to suppose that the tendency of things is toward Protestantism. It is in the direction of infidelity and the secret societies. And Protestantism does not thrive. In Piedmont the new sect is not numerous, and it is divided into two denominations, each of them represented by a newspaper, and they violently abuse and denounce each other. At Genoa no person of any ability or character, or station, has joined the Protestant ranks, and at the time when the cholera broke out, many returned to the true Church. It is, indeed, notorious that the "Evangelical" Chapel cannot be filled without distributions of money among the congregation. And on one occasion when the bag was empty, they made a disturbance and broke the benches because the usual supply of "*motte*," or 4d. pieces, was not forthcoming. The Bible Societies have, it is true, been at work, but their Protestant Bibles are, for the most part, sold for waste paper, or exported again, or delivered up to the clergy. These facts shew that the favourite English idea of the rapid increase of Protestantism in the Sardinian States is a delusion, which however it suits the interest of many people diligently to keep alive.

We come now to the second of the two propositions stated above. The hostility of the majority in the

Chamber of Deputies against the Church would at first sight seem to support the idea that the nation is also opposed to the Church. But the fact is, that the Chamber does not represent the opinions of the nation. It is packed, and also under the direct influence of the ministry. A system of jobbing with small places, pensions, and decorations all over the country, influences the constituencies, and the secret service money is also used for the same purposes. To these electioneering means in the hands of the executive, we must add one important circumstance.

The government have in their *employés* the machinery of electioneering always ready. And it can easily be brought to bear when there is need. Thus we could mention a case where the gendarmerie were sent round to canvass the voters for the ministerial candidate, and the Syndic or mayor was required to tell them that they must vote for him. But those who really represent the opinions of the majority have no such appliances and means. In a country new to constitutional government, people do not know how to oppose the government, and they fear to do so. They neglect the registry, and then they are unwilling to go to the poll. The consequence in the case adverted to above, was that the Catholic candidate who really had the majority with him, was beaten, because he could not get his men to the poll. Thus the result of the elections is, under the circumstances just described, in reality no test of the opinions of the people. Late events at Genoa corroborate and illustrate these statements. The experiment has been tried of bringing into play in that city a proper system and machinery for the management of the registry and of elections on the side of the Catholic party. The result is, that they have returned fourteen members of the town council, while the ministry have only seven. This trial of strength shows what may be done. Similar results have been obtained in like manner at Chambery, and in other places. And as the same constituency elects the members of the Chamber of Deputies, it is evident that when the majority have sufficient fair play, a different sort of Chamber will be returned, really representing the feelings and principles of the nation. And in the meanwhile we may safely say that if the majority of the present Chamber are more or less undutifully disposed towards the Church, it does not follow that the nation is of the same way of thinking, which, indeed,

any one well acquainted with the country must know not to be the case. We may admit that the ministry, and a packed Chamber of Deputies, are carrying on a struggle with the Church and the Holy See, but we deny that the nation is a party to this unholy war. This important distinction will appear more and more as we proceed. It is absolutely necessary that we should state it clearly and positively before entering on the examination of the various steps which have led the Sardinian government to its present lamentable position with regard to the Catholic Church.

Another preliminary matter remains to be dealt with. It is the key to a great part of the subject on which we are going to enter.

A chief point in the policy of the men who have held office since the abdication of King Charles Albert, has been hostility to the Church. Practical statesmen have observed, that to quarrel with the Church is a false step—*un grande maladresse*. And so it is; for the Emperor Napoleon I. observed, after the experience acquired by himself, that the Pope ought always to be treated as a prince who has an army of a hundred thousand men. And history shows that those who have quarrelled with the Catholic Church, have generally in the end suffered for it. Politicians attribute this to the working of a wonderful organisation, which they cannot help admiring as a great fact in the government of the world, and which they describe as a masterpiece of human wisdom: while Catholics see that such results, continued beyond the period of the duration of any civil constitution, are the work of that perennial Providence which God Himself promised to His Church. Why then did shrewd men like Azeglio, Siccardi, Rattazzi, Cavour, &c., commit the blunder of bringing the civil power into collision with the Church? The answer to this question is very important.

The time of disappointment, bitterness, and agitation which succeeded the defeat of the Sardinian armies, and the abdication of the king, naturally brought to power men who would not have held it without those exceptional and revolutionary circumstances. When the public mind became calmer, they found it difficult to maintain their position, against the wishes of a great body of the people, and those of the nobility and the clergy of the Established Church. These two important classes were intimately

attached to each other, and very formidable to the views of the men in power. The ministerial party, therefore, naturally resorted to the expedient of trying to raise an agitation against the clergy and the nobility, to weaken their influence, and so strengthen themselves. This they did at first by means of the press, and then by political measures, calculated at the same time to make the Church unpopular, and to deprive her of property and power. The refugees, who had been thrown by circumstances on the soil of Piedmont, were also an element in this anti-ecclesiastical movement. They were for the most part men of extreme opinions and desperate fortunes, and many of them, affiliated to the secret societies, who are the sworn enemies of religion and order. These men were pensioned, and down to the present time they have been successful candidates for public employments and offices. They introduced, or at least greatly augmented and spread those secret societies, whose formidable organisation is ever directed to the injury of Christianity, and especially of the Catholic Church. We have already stated that Rattazzi was bred in these societies—raised by their intrigue, and saturated with their detestable principles. Siccardi is a man of the same class, and many other leaders of that party are included in those mysterious affiliations which are the principal danger and pest of Italy, even at the present moment. It was natural that the members of cabinets placed under the circumstances to which we have referred, should be bad churchmen, and desirous of injuring the Church, both from motives of party policy and from animosity and revenge. Some of them also thought that the Catholic Church, with its strong organisation and inflexible principles, was not so favourable to the progress of civil liberty as Protestantism. This is the view of Cavour, who has a notion that England would never have been the free country that it is without Protestantism. And so he has acquired a good deal of sympathy and popularity in this country. Perhaps some of these men thought that they could quietly undermine the Church without causing a collision; but when once the struggle commenced, it was difficult to stop, and the ministers soon undertook a regular campaign against the Church and the Holy See. Hence arose the Siccardi Law, and from the proceedings on that measure came the persecution of Monsignore Franzoni, Archbishop of Turin. The country was

dragged gradually into its present false and dangerous position with regard to the Holy See, by the cunning manœuvres of the ministers and the machinations of the secret societies. And the weakness of the king, and the inexperience and indolence of the people, who had neither the knowledge and skill, nor the energy to cope with the electioneering and jobbing of the government, rendered the Chamber of Deputies the tool of ambitious unscrupulous party men.

This explanation shows the groundlessness of the opinion so popular in this country, that a national movement against the Catholic Church is going on in the Sardinian states, and that Messrs. Cavour and Rattazzi are the exponents of the national will.

We will now proceed to lay before our readers the true history of those transactions, so misrepresented and misunderstood in this country, which have brought Sardinia into collision with the Holy See, and sowed the seeds of future disorder and revolution in Italy. And we have no hesitation in declaring our belief that even our Protestant readers, who wish to see a schism in Italy, will condemn the policy of the Sardinian government as dishonest, unstatesmanlike, unconstitutional, and calculated to inflict irretrievable injuries on the country committed to their charge.

We have before us a MS. statement, emanating from a very high personage, which shows that even when the Pope retired to Gaeta the Sardinian government entertained a decided hostility against the Holy See. After His Holiness had left Rome, on the 24th Nov., 1848, he addressed a letter, dated in December of that year, to all the governments in Europe, stating the measures which had induced him to abandon his capital and dominions. All the Catholic states, with one exception, returned answers conceived in the most dutiful terms, and Spain took the initiative in proposing to maintain by arms the temporal power of the Holy See in the Roman States. The exception was Sardinia, which protested against that proposal. And that protest was repeated when the other Catholic powers, with the approbation even of Protestant England, declared their intention of restoring the Pope to his throne. This is not difficult to be explained, for the MS. above referred to, hints at certain intrigues carried on by the Sardinian government at Rome after the deposition of the



Pope,—the object of which was to bring about a union of the Roman States with Piedmont. And things were carried so far that a Piedmontese minister addressed the people from his balcony at Rome, and the Sardinian flag was placed on the Antonine column and in the hands of the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius at the Capitol. The failure of the project was no doubt a great disappointment, which had an influence over subsequent transactions between the Holy See and the Sardinian government. We will only add two facts regarding this intrigue. They are these:—Count Montezemolo with an ecclesiastic attached to the Court, were sent from Turin to Gaeta for the purpose of persuading the Pope to take up his residence in the Sardinian States—at Savona, a little town near Genoa, where His Holiness would have been completely in the power of the cabinet of Turin. And a second mission represented by Count Cæsar Balbo, endeavoured to induce the Pope to decide on not leaving a constitutional government to the States of the Church. That the cabinet of Turin should undertake such a task, can only be accounted for by supposing that the object was to lead the Pope to some step which might render his return to his dominions more difficult.

Here it is necessary to state a stratagem which forms an important part of the policy of the Sardinian ministers in all their transactions with the Holy See. They knew that an open direct act tending to a breach with the Holy See would be looked upon with disgust by the great body of the nation. They therefore professed much deference to Rome, and a wish to do nothing affecting the rights of the Church without obtaining by negotiations the consent of the Sovereign Pontiff. They declared that negotiations were proceeding with Rome at times when no negotiations whatever were being carried on. At other times their ambassador was not instructed to proceed with the business on which they publicly professed to have sent him; or he was instructed to make some preliminary demand which they knew could not be complied with. By these means the people were amused and deluded, and it was sought to produce an opinion, both at home and abroad, that with the Holy See compromise is impossible, and conciliation useless; and that Rome is utterly impracticable, deaf to argument, and regardless of those circumstances of time and place which render concessions in some cases reason-

able and wise. These dishonest tactics have proved to a considerable extent successful. A most unjust prejudice against the Court of Rome has been raised or increased, and the Sardinian people have been craftily led step by step into a position contrary to their religious convictions, and which is a scandal to Christendom. In England especially, an ample field has been opened for declamation and calumny. But we will continue our narrative.

While the Pope was at Portici, Counts Siccardi and Cesare Balbo were accredited to His Holiness for the professed object of obtaining a new concordat, settling various questions which since the establishment of the Sardinian constitution had arisen between the two courts. But instead of entering at once into those matters, they demanded the removal from their sees of the Archbishop of Turin and the Bishop of Asti. That was impossible, because there was no canonical ground for the Pope to obtain the resignation of those prelates. The envoys must have known this from the very beginning; but on being told that what they asked could not be done, they returned to Turin, to the great disappointment of the Holy Father, who had hoped for a satisfactory conclusion of the intended concordat, and who also feared, lest the failure of the mission might produce an unfavourable effect on the mind of the young king, Victor Emanuel. His Holiness accordingly sent to the king Monsignore Charvaz, the present Archbishop of Genoa, at that time Bishop of Sebaste, with apostolic letters, and commissioned to declare to His Majesty the benevolent feelings of the Pope towards his royal person and the people of his dominions, and to explain the Apostolic duty obliging His Holiness to reject the request made to him to induce the Prelates of Turin and Asti to resign. The king, in reply to these communications, assured the Pope that he would give his royal protection to the two prelates; promising that a bill should immediately be proposed to the Chambers, regarding public education, in which the rights of the Bishops should be recognized, and that the negotiations for the concordat should be renewed; and His Majesty showed to the papal envoy a bill regarding the press; containing provisions calculated to restrain its licentiousness. But notwithstanding these assurances and promises of the king, and at the same time, that is to say at the end of 1849 and the commencement of the following year,

great acts of violence were committed by the government against the Archbishop of Cagliari who had thought it his duty not to submit to the demands of a commission appointed to prepare a measure for the abolition of tithes. And on the 2nd of January, the revenues of the Archbishopric were seized by the Crown. And on the 25th of February the famous Siccardi law was proposed to the Chamber of Deputies. To that measure we must now direct our attention.

Siccardi's bill was framed to abolish the ecclesiastical jurisdictions and suppress the observance of certain religious festivals. Those provisions of the bill were a direct violation of the concordat, solemnly signed by the Pope and the king in 1841, as well as of other preceding treaties of the same nature.\* The ministers attempted to justify themselves to the Papal Nuncio and Cardinal Antonelli, the Pro-secretary of State, by stating that they had been compelled to bring in the Bill; that the negotiations repeatedly commenced with the Holy See had always been unsuccessful; and that it was best for the government to take the initiative rather than leave it to the parliament to do so. They added that they were willing to enter into negotiations with the Holy See on the matters contained in the Bill, provided such negotiations were carried on at Turin, and *provided that the determination taken by the government should be accepted as immutable.* The iniquity of these reasons and proposals is obvious. The breach of a solemn treaty is justified on a supposed ground of necessity, which amounts to no more than a determination on the part of the ministers to do anything rather than resign their places. As for the alleged fruitlessness of the negotiations, it arose, not on the part of the Holy See, but on that of the Sardinian Government. Cardinal Antonelli, in a note dated 9 March, 1850, pointed out to the Sardinian Minister, that in 1848 the Pope had appointed a plenipotentiary, who had taken cognizance of the proposals of the Sardinian Minister, and presented his observations thereon, but the Sardinian Government proceeded no further, and let the matter drop. The Cardinal added that though Count Siccardi had presented credentials on his mission to Portici, contain-

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\* 1741, 1742, 1747, 1836, 1841.

ing among other reasons for which he was sent, the matters to which the Siccardi law related, yet it was a fact that he never commenced any negociation regarding them, but declared that he had received instructions to return to Turin, and no communication whatever on the subject was subsequently made to the Court of Rome. It is clear therefore, that though the Court of Turin made a proposal in 1848, to that of Rome, the former never had entered into any negociation on the subjects contained in Siccardi's bill. Yet the Marquis d'Azeglio and his colleagues made people believe both at home and abroad that the government had proposed the Siccardi bill after repeated endeavours to obtain concessions from Rome and finding the Holy See thoroughly impracticable. It certainly was believed in this country that Count Siccardi had carried on a negotiation with the Pope, preparatory to the introduction of his bill. But we have seen that he only asked the removal of two bishops. This is an instance of the stratagem of pretended negotiations to which we have already adverted.

When in spite of the remonstrances of the nuncio and Cardinal Pro-secretary of State, the bill received the royal assent on the 9th of April, 1850, the nuncio by command of His Holiness quitted Turin. And then followed other acts of violence and hostility against the Church, to which we shall in due time advert.

The Marquis d'Azeglio, prime minister of the king of Sardinia, now started a new and astonishing argument in support of the Siccardi law. He maintained that it was competent and just for the parliament and crown of Sardinia to pass that law, although it was a violation of the concordats with Rome, because as every country has a right to alter its internal institutions and laws, it follows that a concordat with Rome must be held binding only in a qualified way, that is to say, subject to that right of the state, and *rebus sic stantibus*, that is to say, provided the laws of the country remain as they were at the time when the concordat was concluded. And he laid it down that as the constitution declared all men equal in the eye of the law, the exceptional jurisdiction of the spiritual courts over the clergy must be held to be contrary to the constitution, and the concordat confirming that privilege, no longer in force. He forgot that the same constitution declared the Catholic religion to be the only religion of the

state, and must, therefore, be held to confirm its legal privileges and discipline. And it is moreover difficult to see why the ecclesiastical courts are more contrary to the equality of citizens than courts military and the jurisdiction of the upper house of parliament. The Marquis d'Azeglio, however, cited a passage from Wheaton's International Law, which says that treaties expire when the internal constitution of government of either state is so changed as to render the treaty inapplicable under circumstances different from those with a view to which it was concluded. But the Marquis chose to omit the very next paragraph which shews that the doctrine of Wheaton is beside the question, for it applies only to *personal* treaties, and not to *real* treaties, which are binding on the contracting powers, independently of any change of the sovereignty or in the rulers of the state.\*

It is evident that the doctrine of the Piedmontese minister, that the concordat could not preclude them from making any alteration of their laws, though such alterations were contrary to its stipulations, must make every concordat a mere delusion, for it means in substance that a concordat is a contract binding on one of the parties so long only as he chooses to be bound, and no longer. It is difficult to imagine a more fraudulent delusion. A state may indeed say, I will not enter into any treaty restraining my power or free action in my own internal affairs. But if such a treaty be entered into, will it not be binding? Let us suppose that Naples or Tuscany engaged by treaty with England to allow the public celebration of Protestant worship within their territories, could they argue that this treaty did not preclude them from making Protestant worship illegal? Could they maintain this on the ground that a treaty must not interfere with their internal legislation? If such a principle be admitted, it will make a great innovation in the public law of Europe, and invalidate many important treaties. For instance: treaties of commerce frequently contain stipulations restricting the power of a government to tax its own subjects. But it is needless to multiply examples for the purpose of showing that the principle contended for on the part of Sardinia is utterly at variance

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\* Wheaton, vol. i. p. 299.

with the fundamental rules of jurisprudence regarding treaties.

A recent writer in the "Quarterly Review" has dealt with this subject ingeniously, but most unsoundly. He admits that the Roman doctrine (as he terms it) respecting the obligation of the civil power to observe a concordat as if it were an international treaty, is supported by the form of the instrument itself, which is that of a treaty between two powers, entered into by means of plenipotentiaries in the usual way. But he contends that a concordat is a treaty between the sovereign of one country and that of another in matters regarding the subjects of one of them, and that therefore it is of an anomalous description, and not absolutely binding like other treaties. He supposes that the power of the Pope to enter into these compacts depends on his political character as a temporal sovereign; and alleges that if the Pope lost his temporal power, a concordat must cease to be international. But if it did cease to be international, would it on that account be no longer binding? Is no public contract obligatory on a state which has entered into it, unless it be international? Such a proposition is glaringly false. Suppose a foreign government to agree with Messrs. Rothschild that, in consideration of a loan, it will not repeal a particular impost. That agreement would not be international, though entered into with a foreigner, but to repeal the impost would be a breach of faith and a dishonest act.

But the truth is, that the public law of Europe has recognised in the Sovereign Pontiff a mixed character, namely, that of the Supreme Head of the Roman Catholic Church, and at the same time sovereign of the Roman States. As a sovereign prince he is one of the crowned heads of Europe with all the rights of other sovereigns. As Head of the Church he is also sovereign and supreme. In both these characters the Pope is undeniably capable of entering into treaties with sovereign powers. Whether a concordat with the Holy See be international, is a matter wholly immaterial. It is a solemn public contract, which cannot be violated without subverting public faith. It is not indeed a treaty between an Italian sovereign and a foreign power, regarding internal affairs of that foreign power, but a compact between the Sovereign Pontiff, the Supreme Head of the Catholic Church, and a temporal government, regarding matters within the jurisdiction of



the Holy See. And accordingly, by a concordat, the Holy See usually grants to the temporal government privileges and powers which the Holy See alone can grant—such, for instance, as the nomination to bishoprics and the like. But no one who is not grossly ignorant of history and public law, can deny that these contracts are universally recognised as equally binding with the treaties between temporal sovereign powers.

But the "Quarterly Review" supposes that the Holy See claims the right of violating a concordat at pleasure, thus holding it to be binding only on the part of the temporal government. Nothing can be more utterly groundless than this notion. The Holy See has always most scrupulously observed the provisions of every concordat according to their true meaning and construction. To say the contrary, is either an instance of gross ignorance, or a dishonest pretence, to bolster up a breach of faith by means of calumny.

We must of course cast aside the theory, popular in this country, which treats the Holy See as a "foreign power," and maintains that every state has a right to manage all matters within its territory, whether civil or ecclesiastical, without the intervention of any authority external to that territory. The Holy See is *nowhere a foreign power*, because everywhere it is the Head of the Catholic Church, and as such it is indigenous to every country in the world, though the Pope is also a sovereign prince governing an Italian state. We do not enter into the theological part of the question. It is sufficient here to say that the doctrine of separate national Churches subject only to the temporal power, is a Protestant doctrine. The Supreme Headship of the Pope as Vicar of Christ is *de fide* in the Catholic Church. Wherever the Catholic Church is established, recognised, or tolerated, that doctrine must be established, recognised, or tolerated also. And it necessarily involves a jurisdiction of the Holy See in spiritual and ecclesiastical matters, beyond the limits of the Roman States, and extending over the Catholic Church in every part of the world. On this ground it was that Mr. Canning argued in favour of a concordat between the British crown and the Holy See. He knew that the jurisdiction of the Pope over the Catholic Church in this country was a fact which no reasonable man could deny, and which must be tolerated because the Church is

tolerated ; and that if any concessions from that Church were to be obtained, they could only come from Rome by means of negotiation and treaty. Now the states of the King of Sardinia are a Roman Catholic country, in which the Roman Catholic religion and Church are established by the temporal law. It follows that the common notion existing here—that the Sardinian government is to exclude the Pope from all interference with the Church in that country, is simply an absurdity. It is inconsistent with the article of the constitution, which declares the Roman Catholic religion to be the only religion of the state. And it was most ably argued by Cardinal Antonelli, that even independently of the concordat, the state could not, without the assent of the Holy See, constitutionally make any alteration in the laws affecting ecclesiastical discipline, because that article of the constitution implicitly acknowledges the divine right of the Pope as Supreme Head and Ruler of the Catholic Church, and he is the sole competent judge of the modifications or other changes which ecclesiastical discipline may from time to time require.

We cannot enter into an examination of the Siccardi Law, which would exceed our limits, but something must be said on the strange notions prevailing here and elsewhere regarding the privileges which that law abolished.

The notion propagated here and elsewhere by the friends of the Sardinian government is, that until the passing of Siccardi's law, the clergy were exempt from the jurisdiction of the temporal courts ; that they set the laws of the land at defiance, and that by this state of things they were enabled to commit the most atrocious crimes with something very like impunity. But this is utterly false. Papers laid before parliament in 1816,\* shew that even at that time ecclesiastics in Sardinia, Piedmont, and Savoy, were liable to trial before the secular courts for all serious offences ; that laymen were independent of the ecclesiastical courts, except in questions of faith, when the punishments were purely spiritual, and in cases of bigamy, where the sentences were executed by the secular power ; and that the clergy were amenable to the secular courts in almost all civil causes, and

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\* Appendix, No. vii., to report from Committee on Regulation of Catholics in foreign countries, 1816.

wherever the defendant was a layman. Further concessions were subsequently made by the Holy See, and at the time when Siccardi brought in his bill, the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Piedmont was considerably less in extent and power than that which exists in England. But the government were determined to make a grievance when none existed, for the purpose of carrying on their insidious policy against the Church.

It may perhaps be said that the court of Rome should not have declined to treat after the bill had been brought before the Chamber. But it would have been absurd to attempt to enter into fresh arrangements with a government which deliberately denied the obligation of all former treaties, and declared that the bill, admitted to be a violation of five concordats, should be proceeded with, whatever might be the results of the proposed negotiation. We will now consider a matter directly arising out of the facts already stated.

In the course of the proceedings by which the concordat with the Holy See was broken in defiance of public faith, and the rights of the Established Church secured by that solemn compact violated and destroyed, the Archbishop of Turin issued a pastoral letter, animadverting against the measures of the government. The Archbishop was a man of mild disposition, great piety, and simple habits. His pastoral was conceived in terms which, in this country, would certainly not have been considered to exceed the limits of constitutional freedom. They were scarcely so strong as the language repeatedly used by a distinguished member of the Bench of the Protestant establishment in this country. But in Piedmont, where the press daily poured forth invectives against the Church, the clergy, and the nobility without attracting the notice of the Executive—the protestations and remonstrances of the Archbishop excited the immediate hostility of the Attorney-General. A prosecution, at the suit of the crown, was commenced. The principles of constitutional freedom, and the right of the subject to canvass government measures and attack ministers, were invoked. But a subservient jury gave way to the influence of the government and the threats of a mob, and convicted the Archbishop. He was condemned to fine and imprisonment, and suffered punishment accordingly. Proceedings of the same charac-

ter were also taken against the Archbishop of Sassari, in the island of Sardinia.

The Siccardi Law was passed, annulling a solemn contract between the Holy See and the crown. Men of honour and probity shrunk from this act of dishonesty. The Marquis of Brignole Sale, a man of the highest rank, who had grown grey in the performance of great public duties, and decidedly the first person among the Genoese nobility, resigned an embassy, because he would not serve under ministers who had broken faith and stained the honour of the crown. Others followed the example of that distinguished statesman.

Among the foremost promoters of the Siccardi Law was the Count Santa Rosa, one of the ministers, a very bitter partisan. Soon after the passing of the Siccardi Law he fell ill, and sent for a confessor. He was told by that confessor that he was a party to an act of dishonesty, and that he was affected by the ecclesiastical censures pronounced against violators of the rights of the Church. He was advised to declare his penitence. Fearing the blame of his friends, he refused. The Archbishop was applied to. He gave the only answer he could give under the circumstances, namely, that the sick man could not receive absolution unless he declared his repentance. As a necessary consequence, he could not receive the last sacrament. Protestants will perhaps exclaim, that here the Church interfered with politics, by calling a minister to account for a public act. But is it possible that what is a sin if done by a man in his private capacity, is not a sin if done in a public character? Is it a sin to violate a contract for the sale of a bale of cotton, and *not* a sin to break a contract to which the crown is a party? This was not a question of policy or statecraft, but—a matter of right and wrong—of morals and of justice. How could a priest who had refused the sacraments to a tradesman because he would not repent of cheating a customer, absolve an impenitent minister who had advised the crown to break a contract with the Holy See? Besides, the minister was subject to censures as a violator of the rights of the Church. Those censures were indeed part and parcel of the law of the land: and in fact, the Archbishop only performed his strict and imperative duty, by directing the priest to refuse absolution unless the sick man declared his repentance. We believe Santa Rosa would have

complied if he had not been surrounded by his political friends, who, for the sake of their own consistency and credit, exhorted him to be firm, and not to give way to the dictates of his conscience; and so the unfortunate man died impenitent. This lamentable event naturally produced the deepest sensation. The agents of the secret societies, and the friends of the ministers, stirred up the mob against the Archbishop. They made the ignorant people believe that the prelate was in communication with the Austrians. A tumult was thus raised under the windows of the archiepiscopal residence, and then the quondam colleagues of Santa Rosa, under pretence that the Archbishop was in danger, arrested him, and imprisoned him in the citadel. His papers were seized and placed before the law officers of the crown, and in a few days he was sent to the fortress called Fenestrelle, a prison, or rather a dungeon, on the top of a desert mountain in Savoy. All this was done without colour of legal right, and without any charge being brought against the Archbishop. No legal offence was alleged to have been committed by him. He was arrested and committed to a fortress, and then to another, where he was kept a close prisoner, without any legal process whatever. All his papers were seized and placed in the hands of the law officers, who were instructed to find out and frame some charge against him if they could.

In the meantime, the priest who had attended Santa Rosa was also arrested. He pleaded his ecclesiastical duty and the commands of his superior. If the Archbishop was to blame, at least the priest was innocent, for he had no choice. He could not disobey his Bishop in a strictly ecclesiastical matter. He had, moreover, committed no offence against the temporal laws. Even in England, an action does not lie against a Protestant clergyman for refusing to administer the Sacrament. The priest had not broken any law; he could not, therefore, be brought to trial: but he could be punished. Under pretence of satisfying the people, the government exiled him. He was a member of a college, who performed parochial duty. The property of the college was confiscated, and the members exiled. All this was by the arbitrary act of the executive, without any judicial proceeding and without legal warrant. Yet we are told that Sardinia is the

model constitutional country, which is treading in the steps of England!

Supposing for a moment that a Fellow of a college at Oxford refused to administer the Protestant Sacrament to some popular leader. What would the country say if the government seized and confiscated the property of the college, and exiled all the Fellows? Yet this was done at Turin, and Englishmen applauded the act! It was ingeniously dressed up and coloured, so that our countrymen mistook lawless oppression, injustice, and robbery, for an act of salutary and honourable severity.

In the meanwhile the Archbishop was a prisoner in the fortress of Fenestrelle. A most rigorous search at his house showed that there was not a shadow of pretence that he was in communication with the Austrians. But the government felt that they must bring him to trial for something, or tacitly admit themselves to have been guilty of tyranny and injustice. His direction to the confessor was no offence against the law. In truth, his ecclesiastical duty left him no choice in the matter, which was clearly, by the law of the land, exclusively within the province of the spiritual authority. What, then, was to be done? The ingenuity of the crown lawyers found at last a solution of the difficulty. There was an ancient Piedmontese law, made in the days of absolutism, whereby any one who showed by his general conduct a disposition unfavourable to the government, or its measures, was guilty of a constructive offence, and subject to an arbitrary punishment. Under this law the Archbishop was indicted. He was not entitled to a trial by jury, and two of the judges were removed as not being sufficiently favourable to the ministry. It was well known that the Archbishop was, as we should say, in opposition to the ministry. His act in the case of Santa Rosa showed his view of the Siccardi law; and the case of the pastoral letter, for which he had undergone punishment, was again brought up against him. In his defence it was urged that the law under which he was accused was old and obsolete, and inconsistent with the principles of constitutional government, and that an indictment for a constructive offence was dangerous to the liberties of the subject, especially where, as in the present instance, there was no trial by jury. It was argued that for the pastoral letter the prisoner had already been punished, and that no man could,



without violating principles of jurisprudence recognised in all countries, be punished twice for the same offence. But the court, overawed by the influence of government and by the mob of Turin, found the Archbishop guilty, though by a small majority, and condemned him to exile, and confiscation of all his property. He has lived ever since at Lyons, where he is beloved and revered, and from whence he is able to do such acts as are necessary for the spiritual management of his diocese. But the liberal constitutional government of Sardinia, which professes the utmost regard for the liberty of the press and freedom of opinions and discussion, has by every means endeavoured to prevent the exiled prelate from publishing anything in defence of himself and the rights of his Church, within the dominions of the king of Sardinia.

In the meanwhile he has been denounced by the press in that country, and in England, as arrogant, rebellious, overbearing, and proud; whereas he was the victim of an arbitrary prosecution; and all who are acquainted with him know that though inflexible and firm in the maintenance of what his conscience dictates, he is one of the mildest and humblest, and most Christian of men.

The persecution of the Archbishops of Turin, Cagliari and Sassari, and other ecclesiastics, and the flagrant violation of the concordat, caused a deep feeling of indignation throughout the kingdom, and the government were strongly attacked in the senate. Then the keeper of the seals did not hesitate to state in that assembly that the government were carrying on negotiations with Rome, regarding the abolition of ecclesiastical privileges. This was false, and it was accordingly denied by the Roman official paper. But the false declaration of the minister naturally obtained greater circulation than the denial, and therefore tended to tranquilize the minds of the people.

As a further measure to calm the public indignation and scandal, the government sent in August, 1850, the Cavaliere Pinelli, as envoy extraordinary to Rome. The result of this mission was similar to that of preceding ones. It was hoped that the envoy would approach the Pontifical throne with offers and expressions of conciliation and reparation. But instead of this, he insisted on the strange doctrine, that a concordat could be violated at the will of the civil government,—disclaimed every notion

of compromise,—and asked the removal of the Archbishop of Turin from his metropolitan See.

It is evident that the court of Rome could not undertake to treat with a power who denied the obligatory force of treaties, and who had shown such an utter disregard for the rights of the Church; but the Cardinal Pro-Secretary of State, nevertheless, held several private conferences with the Cavaliere Pinelli, who offered nothing in return for his demands. In the meantime the usual false reports were spread by the government,—that important treaties were being negotiated, and would soon be concluded with the Holy See. These reports were denied by Apostolic letters, directed to the Archbishop of Vercelli, in answer to enquiries made by that prelate and his suffragans. And on the departure of the Cavaliere Pinelli, His Holiness pronounced in the consistory an Apostolical allocution, in which, with that moderation and charity which became the Father of all Christians, he clearly stated the principal facts of this lamentable history.

Notwithstanding these paternal and solemn admonitions, the Piedmontese government continued their hostile policy against the Church. They brought in a bill to abolish tithes in the Island of Sardinia, without making any adequate provision for the clergy in lieu thereof, declaring at the same time in the senate, that no differences existed on the subject with the Holy See. This declaration was untrue like the preceding ones, and it was denied by the court of Rome. The law abolishing tithes was passed, and thus again the concordat was violated which guaranteed the property of the clergy. Notwithstanding this, and divers other attacks on the rights of the Church, the Pope in the month of September, of the same year, graciously received conciliatory overtures made by the king through the Abate Sopranis, and expressed his desire to treat for a new concordat, provided that the injuries done to the Church were repaired, and things impossible to be granted, not insisted on. So matters remained until the commencement of November, when Count de Sambuy arrived at Rome as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, with a dispatch from the Marquis d'Azeglio, stating that the object of his mission was to continue negotiations and to settle the differences with the Holy See. But at the same time the government declared in the chamber that the mission of Count de Sambuy implied

no departure from the system of policy commenced by the minister Siccardi. The Pope, however, consented to open negotiations, and appointed Monsignore, now Cardinal Santucci, his plenipotentiary. That prelate began by pressing on the Count that it was necessary that the Sardinian government should recognize the inviolability of concordats, because on this point depended the possibility of entering into negotiations for concluding any new concordat with that government. After considerable difficulties the pontifical plenipotentiary transmitted to the Count de Sambuy, a proposed preamble to the intended treaty, reciting that the concordats between the Holy See and the Sardinian government require modifications, and that for that purpose the intervention of the Holy See was necessary. But in consequence of difficulties on the part of the Piedmontese plenipotentiary, a second preamble was proposed by Monsignor Santucci. It reserved the provisions of the sacred canons and the concordats, declaring that they should remain in force until altered with the consent of the Holy See; and it consented that all causes purely civil affecting ecclesiastical persons, (excluding certain cases of ecclesiastical patronage,) should go to the lay courts; that the same courts should take cognizance of accusations against ecclesiastical persons for all offences whatsoever, except those regarding religion, and excepting those against bishops; and that all persons accused of any offence might be taken out of the sanctuaries, (which were very few and practically of no effect,) after certain formalities to be determined. These concessions were obviously very great, and they undeniably showed the desire of the Holy See to settle in a liberal spirit the differences with the court of Turin. But notwithstanding these liberal offers, and the repeated applications of the Pontifical plenipotentiary, the negotiations remained suspended until the 24th of August, during a period of six months. In the mean time various measures hostile to the Church were carried into effect by the government at Turin.

In the course of the conferences, the Count de Sambuy declared that he did not propose to treat on the subject of the intended law on marriage, because the government intended to avoid touching the *vinculum* of matrimony and the matrimonial causes stated by the Council of Trent as exclusively within the jurisdiction of the Church. The Pontifical plenipotentiary thought it necessary to accept

officially this declaration by a note dated the 28th of February. But that note never was answered. And on the 9th of June a bill was introduced in the Piedmontese Parliament regarding marriage—totally at variance with the declaration above-mentioned. The Pontifical plenipotentiary requested, in a note dated the 15th of July, an explanation of this circumstance. That note remained unnoticed until the 29th of July, when the Sardinian plenipotentiary stated that he had referred the question to his government. Here is a fresh instance of the double-dealing of the Sardinian government. The Count de Sambuy acted honestly and like a gentleman, but his employers evidently used his mission as a mask for their designs, and never intended it to produce any beneficial result. They accordingly proceeded with the abolition of the Sardinian tithes, and proposed to the chambers a bill which gave to the Sardinian clergy a provision very inadequate, and far less than the value of the confiscated property.

Any one acquainted with the country, might well wonder why the law respecting marriage was ever proposed by the government. The Press in this country dealt with the Sardinian Marriage Bill without considering the circumstances which make the case perfectly different from that of the legislation in England on the same matter. Here the law considers marriage as a civil contract, though celebrated with a religious ceremony. The Established Protestant Church denies marriage to be a sacrament, and the "Articles" merely describe it as a "state of life"—though the term sacrament is, as it were, *per incuriam*, applied to it in the Homily *on cursing and swearing*. And the Protestant Ecclesiastical Courts distinguish between the civil contract and the ceremony of marriage. The Protestant Church, therefore, could not here make any valid objection to a law allowing the civil celebration of the contract of marriage. And the innumerable multitude of different beliefs, sects, and denominations existing in this country certainly rendered it a hardship that all those people should be compelled to conform to the marriage rites of the Established Church, especially as those rites are in themselves both tedious and otherwise objectionable. Here, therefore, there were strong grounds for rather allowing the validity for civil purposes of a civil marriage, than compelling all to conform to the rites of the Established Church, which is that of the minority of the

population. This is a practical view of the matter, under the circumstances; though to a Catholic the only right course would have been to allow no marriage to be valid between Catholics unless celebrated in accordance with the laws of the Catholic Church regarding the Sacrament of Marriage.

The circumstances of the case were very different in the Sardinian States. In that country the civil law viewed the marriage contract as a sacrament, and the Established Church allowed no separation of the contract from the sacrament. That Church was the Church of the whole nation, excepting a small number of Waldenses, who are governed by privileges of their own. It is evident, therefore, that the law requiring marriages to be celebrated in conformity with the Canons of the Church could be a hardship or a grievance to no one. It was a law in unison with the habits, and feelings, and opinions of the nation, and which gave rise to no inconvenience or difficulty whatsoever. Why, then, make any change? The preceding pages will enable the reader to answer this question without much difficulty. The policy of the government directed against the Church and the religious institutions of the country naturally pointed out for attack—matrimony, which unites to the character of a sacrament that of an institution—the very beginning and foundation of human society. It was evident to the Calvinist Cavour, and the disciples of the secret societies Rattazzi and Siccardi, that to deprive that most important institution of its sacramental character, and to impair the belief of the people in that character, would be a great blow to the Church and to Religion, and materially assist them in the furtherance of their views and projects for the separation of that country from the Holy See.

They accordingly, as we have seen, with their usual tortuous and dishonest policy, intimated to the Court of Rome that they intended proposing a new Marriage Law, declaring at the same time that they meant to abstain from proposing any provision violating the Canons of the Council of Trent regarding the *Vinculum of Marriage*, or in any way affecting the principles of the Catholic Church. But having thus disarmed suspicion, and given themselves the appearance (as usual) of seeking the consent of the Holy See previous to legislating, they introduced a Bill in Parliament utterly different from their declarations.

That bill made civil marriages valid, though contrary to the Canons of the Church, and in substance rendered matrimony, in the eye of the law, no longer a contract raised to the dignity of a sacrament, but a mere civil contract. The Holy See remonstrated. The Bishops protested, and petitioned against the Bill, which, in truth, legalised and encouraged concubinage, and violated the religion and morality of the country. They were, as usual, treated by the Government as disaffected persons, interfering with matters out of their sphere, and seeking to usurp an authority over the temporal power. Our English newspapers echoed these absurd charges, and obstinately shut their eyes to the facts of the case and the nature of the measure. It was represented to the British public that the Sardinian people viewed the Marriage Bill as a relief from "Priestcraft," and an indulgence to "liberty" of "conscience." Whereas, in reality, nobody wished for it except the Ministers and their partisans and the secret societies; and the Clergy spoke with the voice of the nation against an attack on the national religion and Church. The bill proceeded. The King wrote to the Sovereign Pontiff excusing himself and his government, and alleging that their Marriage Bill was similar to that adopted in other countries which were still in union with Rome. The Holy Father answered in a letter full of that mild dignity and inflexible justice which always characterised his sacred person. He pointed out that the Church could not admit any separation between the validity of the contract and that of the Sacrament of Marriage; for the Church could not admit the former to be of any efficacy without the requisites constituting the latter; that matrimony is not a contract to which a sacrament is added, but a contract raised by our Lord to the dignity of a sacrament; and that if in other countries civil marriages have been introduced, the Holy See had always protested against that innovation as unchristian and immoral, and had only submitted from necessity without ever acknowledging or sanctioning such a violation of the laws of the Church. These representations and admonitions of the Vicar of Christ, though ignorantly and scurrilously attacked by the English press, had their effect in Piedmont. The bill indeed passed the Chamber of Deputies, which electioneering, jobbing, and all the arts of a corrupt government had filled with the minions and obsequious followers



of the Ministers, but it was thrown out by the Senate. If the Ministry had had the support of the nation, they would have appealed to the country by an immediate dissolution. But they knew well that the national verdict would have been against them, and that the indignation of the clergy and the people would have foiled even that system of corrupt influence under which the Chamber had been returned. They submitted to this defeat. And our readers must remember that they were foiled, not by a great and powerful body of hereditary nobles like our House of Lords, but by a Senate appointed by the Crown for life, and somewhat resembling in its composition the Privy Council in this country. They dared not dissolve the Chamber and go to the country; they dared not swamp the Senate with a creation of new senators. They ignominiously submitted to a disgraceful defeat, amidst the joy of the whole country, except the Ministers and their faction. Yet, in the face of these facts, Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston persist in telling us that the Sardinian Ministers are the leaders of the nation and the exponents of its wishes and opinions! Can anything be more absurd!"

We must return now to the negotiations. After six months of delay, on the 24th of August, the Sardinian government replied to the last note of the Pontifical plenipotentiary, declining to accept the proposed preamble, but agreeing to the matters contained in it, except the exemption of the bishops, which was to be matter of further negotiation, and pressing for the appointment of a mixed commission to examine and report on the mode of providing for the clergy of the Island of Sardinia in lieu of the tithes, and a similar commission for the continental states of the king. This was consented to by the Holy See, declaring at the same time that, reserving the exemption of the bishops from lay criminal jurisdiction, the other things contained in the preamble regarding ecclesiastical immunities, might be struck out of the preamble. The Sardinian government, however, proceeded no further with the business, but continued the execution of the law abolishing tithes, and brought in a bill to give a very inadequate and small compensation to the clergy. Count de Sambuy was recalled, and Count de Pralormo appointed *Chargé d'Affairs*, without any powers to continue the negotiations. In truth the Sardinian government did

not wish to conclude anything. On the 1st December, 1853, the Cardinal Secretary of State, enquired by note what were the intentions of the Sardinian government regarding the suspended negotiation. And His Holiness, in an allocution pronounced in secret consistory, on the 19th of December, solemnly declared that the negotiations with Sardinia had ceased by the act of that government. The note of the Cardinal Secretary of State, which was followed by another, remained unanswered for two years; and yet the Sardinian government had the effrontery to charge the court of Rome with delaying the negotiations. On the 2nd of June, 1854, a note was directed by the Sardinian Cabinet to the Court of Rome, pretending that setting aside the matters before considered, an economical reform of the property of the clergy in His Majesty's continental states should be undertaken. The amount of that property was at the same time grossly misstated, and the government claimed to be exempt from the payment, to the clergy, of the compensation for the confiscation of their property by the French revolutionary government. In answer to this communication, the Papal plenipotentiary recalled the attention of Count de Pralormo to the state of the negotiations with the Count de Sambuy. He also declared that as for the reform of the temporal patrimony of the clergy, that demand was sufficiently answered, as the Pope had consented to the request of the cabinet of Turin for two mixed commissions to enquire into that subject, and report upon it both to the Holy See and to the government. But no useful result followed, for in September Count Pralormo directed another note to the Holy See, again insisting on the urgency of the matter, and that the government should be relieved from the payments to the clergy alluded to above. But the government were themselves causes of the urgency of the business, because they had not proceeded with the matter of the mixed commissions, and because they might have restrained those who pressed them, by saying that the subject was under negotiation. The Pontifical plenipotentiary then replied, that it was very difficult, if not impossible, to avoid leaving the business to the two mixed commissions, and solicited a categorical answer.

While this was going on, a bill was introduced in the Chamber, regarding the proposed suppression of the monastic orders. It provided that excepting the sisters of

Charity and of St. Joseph, and those communities *principally* destined for education, or public instruction, or preaching, or the care of the sick, and which were to be designated by royal authority, all other religious communities and establishments should be suppressed. The bill also suppressed the chapters of the collegiate churches, with very few exceptions, and placed the whole of the property of the suppressed bodies under the administration of the State. This violent measure of confiscation was the more unjustifiable as the Holy See had consented to the appointment of two mixed commissions to examine fully the whole subject of ecclesiastical property. But it was in truth partly an expedient to meet an annual and increasing deficit in the budget of the state, and partly a step in the system of hostile policy of the government against the Church. It had been preceded by acts of violent spoliation against three venerable societies. The canons of Collegno offered half of their house as an hospital when the cholera broke out. This generous offer was accepted with thanks by the minister of the interior, who promised that the rights of the chapter should be respected. But soon he called on the canons to give up the other half of their house. They remonstrated, and said that it was their property and their home, and that they had a right to remain there. The minister, however, sent an armed force, who expelled those respectable ecclesiastics from their house in the middle of the night, and took possession of it. One of them was ill and had just been bled, but he was taken out of his bed and put down at the side of the road. We will proceed to the other outrages. The nuns of Santa Croce and the Capuchines of Turin, were peculiarly under the protection of the Queen-mother, to whom a daily intercourse with those pious ladies was a solace and a consolation. As her Majesty was opposed to the policy of the ministry, they were naturally objects of attack. They also were summoned to give up their convents for hospitals; and on their declining to accede to these demands, they were expelled by soldiers in the night, and their houses taken possession of by the government. Neither their sex, nor their sacred character, nor their virtues and the royal dignity of their august patroness obtained for them any mercy or forbearance. The object of the government no doubt was to prepare the way, by these

violations of the rights of property, for the general attack on ecclesiastical endowments by means of Rattazzi's bill, suppressing the convents and chapters.

That measure was sought to be justified on the ground that the property of the Church required to be better distributed, and further provision thereby made for the parochial clergy. But if this was the aim of the government, why did not they proceed with the appointment of the commissions assented to by Rome? That would have been the proper course, especially as those commissions had been proposed by the court of Turin itself. But the real character of the measure will best appear by reverting to a former one of the same nature. Let us ask, what would the House of Commons say, if the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought in a bill to sell the property of Guy's Hospital or St. Bartholomew's, and apply the proceeds to the Ways and Means of the year (thus sinking the capital), and to give merely the interest to the hospital? No possible contingency could bring into office in this country any administration capable of so infamous a proposal. And yet this has been done by the Cavour ministry at Turin! About two years ago they passed a bill enabling the government to sell the landed estates of the magnificent hospital of the Knights of St. Maurice and Lazarus, and giving to that establishment merely the interest of their property. This was an expedient to prop up a bankrupt exchequer, exhausted by jobbing and not the costly arts of party warfare. It was successful, because the parliament was packed, and the people unaccustomed to those means by which parliamentary government is prevented from degenerating into a wrong-headed tyranny. The country murmured; but the measure was passed by the minions of the government. The Calvinist tendencies of Cavour, and the principles of the secret societies with which Rattazzi was imbued, made them determine to take this first step towards the spoliation of religious bodies. But people asked themselves what would become of that benevolent and pious and splendid institution, if the difficulties of the government increased? What, if it became inconvenient to pay the interest of the value of the confiscated lands? Was it probable that the ministers who had proposed such a violent attack on property as the confiscation of the freehold, would scruple to refuse payment of the interest? It was obvious that the institution

rested on very insecure grounds, and that a government with a growing deficit was not a very safe creditor; and, at any rate, there was a great difference between two millions of francs in freehold property and an annuity equal to the interest of two millions.

On this model the famous Convents' Bill was framed. Count Cavour himself confessed that it was a financial measure. It was intended, in the first place, to exonerate the government from paying to the parochial clergy the annual subsidies given in consideration of property confiscated by the French. But this annual charge was a debt to which the king's government had become liable when he returned to his dominions in 1814. *Res transit cum onere*. It was a debt running with the land, and it could not be repudiated without dishonesty. This is still more evident with regard to the Duchy of Genoa, which was a new acquisition obtained at the peace, subject to that charge. This repudiation was not the only lure that the government obtained by the bill. That bill was a measure of confiscation, or a forced loan, under the thin disguise of redistribution. This is evident, for the bill provided for the *sale of the capital*, and the application of the proceeds to whatever purpose the executive government should think fit. The payments to the parochial clergy, and pensions to the monks and nuns, were to be made by means of government paper, an addition to the funded debt of the state. The fact is that the government wanted the money to meet the deficit in the ways and means of the year. In a short time, under the authority of this law, the property will be sold and the proceeds gone, and the clergy will have nothing but the government debentures. And it is not very likely that in future these payments will be held more sacred by the state than those to which we have adverted above, and which also represented ecclesiastical property taken by the civil power. We wish our space would enable us to reproduce the discussions on the bill in the Piedmontese parliament, especially the statesmanlike and splendid speeches of the Marquis of Brignole Sale, and Count Solar de la Margherita. Those speeches were interrupted by the clamour of the mob in the galleries. The advocate Bixio, a man of high character and learning, and at the head of the Genoese bar, addressed a petition to the senate, showing the injustice of the measure, and its incompatibility with the principles of juris-

prudence and the fundamental laws of the kingdom. On the side of the ministry much ability and sophistry were displayed. The chief argument was, that corporate bodies were creatures of the municipal law, that the state was therefore able to terminate their legal existence, and that the effect of their extinction must be the devolution of their property to the state. But it seems strange that the government should destroy these bodies for the purpose of taking their property, without any charge made against them, thus profiting by its own wrong. And the argument itself is fallacious, and contrary to the principles of jurisprudence. For although certain legal incidents of a corporate body, giving it the civil status of *persona*, be matter of municipal arbitrary law, the right of association is *juris gentium*, and if the legal civil *personality* of a corporate body be extinguished, it may still remain an association by virtue of agreement among its members, and so still hold property. Besides, the ecclesiastical bodies in the Sardinian states had all acquired their property within the memory of man, and they had done so on the faith of the laws of the land. To take away that property, except for some crime involving forfeiture, was a gross breach of public faith. The members of those religious societies had brought their portions into the common stock, intending to secure to themselves a home for the rest of their lives, in conformity with their pious dispositions and habits. To take from them their property, and turn them adrift with a pension, was, especially in the case of women, and persons advanced in life, an act of gross cruelty and injustice. If the legislature thought fit to abolish monastic institutions on grounds of public policy, that was no reason for seizing property which never was intended by the donors to devolve on the state. And in a Catholic country, where the constitution declared the Catholic religion to be the only religion of the state, it was impossible not to see the criminality of an act of spoliation, bringing down on all persons concurring in it, the condemnation of the Council of Trent. The Holy See mildly but firmly and solemnly reminded the government of these consequences, but to no purpose. The king was shaken by the calamities which fell on his family. And the connection of those calamities with the sacrilegious measures of the government rendered them still more striking. The queen mother had never recovered the outrages committed



against her favourite communities. Her last illness was caused by distress of mind and sad forebodings of evil to her country, her Church, and her family. Her death caused that of the queen consort, then in childbirth, to whom daily and affectionate intercourse with her was a necessary consolation. The death of those two august and saintly ladies, within the short space of ten days, caused a gloom throughout the country. Two of the king's sons were dangerously ill, and the death of his brother, the Duke of Genoa, was daily expected. The grief of the unfortunate monarch excited the deepest compassion. He felt that his ministers were the authors of his misfortunes. But the Rattazzi Law proceeded. The senate considerably modified it. The abolition of the monastic bodies was struck out, and the bill was reduced to little more than a mere act of spoliation and robbery. The ministers submitted to this defeat, and we have here a confirmation of our statement, that the nation was not with them. If they had had the support of public opinion, they would never have submitted to that defeat in the senate; but they feared to excite too far the public indignation, and they were forced to remain satisfied with having perpetrated a shameless and most infamous robbery.

Our readers will not be surprised that the law against the clergy, passed in a spirit of injustice and rapacity, is executed with brutality and indecency. We have a letter from a person of high rank and character, giving a sketch of the proceedings of the officials charged with the execution of the Rattazzi Law. The regular clergy of both sexes have behaved with the utmost calmness and dignity. They resigned themselves to the calamity which has fallen on them. The agents of the government could not find the witnesses required by the bill. In many cases the local authorities would not act. A judge in Savoy declined to act, and was removed from his office. All persons possessing any self-respect refused to be accomplices of this monstrous violation of the rights of property. In each instance the myrmidons of the law present themselves before the gates of the convent or monastery. They knock repeatedly. No answer is made. Then they resort to the tools in use among house-breakers, and force their way by violence into those abodes of peace, meditation, charity, and prayer. The abbess or other superior appears and reads the edict of excommunication pronounced by the

Council of Trent against the spoliators of the Church. Even the minions and servants of the minister turn pale. They know the wickedness of the work which for their daily bread, or the hope of reward, they have undertaken. They feel that they and their masters are violating the laws of the Church, and those on which all human society is founded. But they proceed. They search everything and everywhere, and take their inventory. Chalices, sacred vestments, crucifixes, shrines, and church ornaments—nothing escapes them. They force their way into the cells of the nuns, and search every corner, and open every drawer and box. They even break off the tops of the chests of drawers. In one convent at Genoa, that of SS. Giacomo e Filippo, they found a piece of paper doubled up under the marble slab which covered a chest of drawers, and exclaimed, "The nuns conceal their papers!" But to their great disappointment the papers turned out to be engravings of the Blessed Virgin. The mother abbess related this to our noble informant, with the most touching serenity and gentleness. They remained for *six hours* in this convent. During that time all the nuns, except the abbess and the mother-vicar, who kept present, were in the church praying. Rattazzi, the brother of the minister, is the chief agent in these disgraceful proceedings, and his brutality and insolence are almost beyond credibility.

Any one reading these statements, or witnessing the facts which they relate, might suppose that the country where such things happened must be in a state of lawless revolution, and the security of persons and property trampled under foot by a mob. But what we have described is in truth far more revolting, as the cool deliberate wickedness of a sane man is morally worse than the excesses of a raving lunatic. We see a regular government professing principles of liberality and enlightened policy, deliberately violating the rights of property, and at the same time inflicting insult and contumely on persons whose sex and whose sacred character should protect them even in barbarous countries.

We may perhaps be asked whether these acts of injustice and violence, and that unjust law under which they are perpetrated, are not sanctioned by public opinion and the acquiescence of the people? We answer that it is not so. The causes to which we have already adverted

sufficiently explain the apparent apathy of the nation. They do not understand how to agitate. The power of the Executive Government, backed by a packed House of deputies, prevents all opposition to the prevailing faction. But a change is in progress which will give effect to the real opinions of the nation. The last municipal elections at Genoa gave a considerable majority to the party who would maintain the rights of the Church and the sound principles of the constitution. The same has occurred at Annecy, Chambery, and other places. This was an important trial of electioneering strength, and the result shows that whenever a general election takes place, a sounder Chamber will be returned. In the meantime the difficulties of the government increase. They have involved the country in a war of which no one sees the end, and from which the state can derive no advantage. The deficit in the annual budget augments. The refugees are difficult to manage, and little to be trusted. Everywhere the secret societies are rife, undermining order, property, and religion, and rendering the task of governing more and more difficult. The natural effect of the internal policy of Messieurs Cavour and Rattazzi is to foment the development and increase of the revolutionary party. And accordingly they are from time to time compelled to arrest and deal very arbitrarily with men who profess and even believe themselves to be true Italian patriots. These repressive measures render the conspirators and adepts in the mysteries of the secret societies discontented and ready to disturb the peace. Under these circumstances the government must be weakened daily. Mazzinian plots are discovered frequently, and arrests are made. How is all this to end? It is difficult to look the facts in the face and not to see that some convulsion must inevitably take place, unless there be a great change in the government.

France must, as well as Austria, see the danger of that focus of revolution which the Sardinian States now present. France will be obliged to interfere, with the concurrence of Austria, for the sake of the maintenance of tranquillity in its own state, and to prevent the subversion of its monarchy, and so foreign power will make a change in the country. This result can only be arrested by the patriotic efforts of the people to obtain a real part in the working of the constitution by means of their representa-

tives. If this cannot be done, the Sardinian constitution must meet the fate of many others, and be extinguished in revolution and military power.

The paternal clemency of the Holy See could no longer resist the demands of justice. The Sovereign Pontiff has just pronounced an allocution, solemnly condemning the perpetrators of this act of spoliation, with all their accomplices, and declaring it by his Apostolic Authority null and void.

We have now reached the latest event of this lamentable history, which has been so misunderstood and so studiously misrepresented in this country. It has hitherto been placed by the press in such a light as to gratify the prejudices of Englishmen, who easily believe whatever pleases them. *Populus vult decipiri et decipietur*. The "British public" likes to be told there is a great Protestant movement in the dominions of the House of Savoy. The House of Commons cheers the vulgar and brutal invective of Whiteside, who says that it ought to imitate the Piedmontese Parliament, and suppress the Monastic Orders. Neither the public nor the House will open their eyes to the fact, that the Piedmontese Parliament has *not* suppressed the Monastic Orders; and that those venerable societies have been, not condemned by a nation, but robbed by a faction. John Bull insists on living in a sort of fool's paradise, believing that what suits his prejudices is a real thing; and he is angry with any one who tells him the truth. And so the newspapers go on telling him what he likes to hear every morning to assist the digestion of his breakfast. But still there is such a thing as truth; and, somehow or other, it will make its way in every country not utterly lost and degraded. A sense of honour and justice can never be eradicated from the breast of an Englishman. He has many and obstinate prejudices; but he prides himself on a sort of impartiality, which rebels against falsehood and rejects misrepresentation; and he secretly despises those who pander to his favourite errors and his inveterate opinions. These reflections make us feel that we are discharging a duty to our countrymen by coming forward to tell them the TRUTH about the affairs of Italy.

Time will show the fruits of that policy which has obtained for Mr. de Cavour so much popularity in England. It is contrary to the feelings and convictions of

the people of the Sardinian States. It is at variance with honest, straightforward dealing, and the faith of treaties. It is injurious to religion. It has brought on the country the censures of the Holy See. Such a state of things cannot last. It must lead to some great change. But, in the meantime we submit to those who are encouraging Sardinia in a progress towards ruin, this plain statement of the political condition of that unfortunate country.

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ART. VII.—*JASHAR, Fragmenta archetypa carminum Hebraicorum in Masorethico Veteris Testamenti textu passim tessellata; collegit, ordinavit, restituit, in unum corpus redegit, Latine exhibuit, commentario instruxit* JOANNES GUILIELMUS DONALDSON, S.T.D., Collegii SS. Trinitatis apud Cantabrigienses olim socius.

*JASHAR, Original fragments of Hebrew Poems, interwoven with many parts of the Masoretic text of the Old Testament. Collected, put in order, restored, united into one body, translated into Latin, and commented on, by* JOHN WILLIAM DONALDSON, D.D., and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1 vol. 8vo. London: Williams and Norgate. Berlin: Hertz. Printed in the latter place.

THERE is a fable grown old even to the young, of a stag, which having apparently a taste for the insipid and the brackish, chose to feed on the sea-side. It was not the "milk-white doe" of more modern fable, but some worldly-wise member of a cervine flock, who separated himself from the companions of his youth, in search of what he considered liberty. On the one side of his chosen narrow territory were the broad and fertile pastures which he had quitted, where multitudes continued to feed in peace. On the other, roared the troubled ocean, with its tossing billows, treacherous quicksands, boisterous blasts, and sunken rocks. On which side lay danger? deliberated the wily seceder. Now it so happened that he

was afflicted with the very common defect of one-sidedness, as well as one-sidedness. All his terrors were about the land of his fathers, all his apprehensions were connected with the pleasant fields where he had passed his youth; while his turbulent neighbour, the abyss of many waters, seemed unlikely to assail his isolated abode. He turned his one keen eye, as he gazed, to the inland foe, he turned but an unconcerned ear to the tumultuous deep. At length when one day he fell, the fatal arrow was quivering in the blind unguarded side, and the hunters who quietly cut him up, and shared his quarters, disembarked from the sea upon the beach.

Need we explain, or rather apply, our parable? This self-willed wanderer from the "spacious place" where it had been fed with many others, from the abode of security, unity, and peace, which approached the border of that seething gulf where boil and roar the billows of disunion, of strife, of heresy, and finally of infidelity, all "foaming out their own confusion," (Jude 12) and thinks itself holding "a middle way" between the two, cannot be mistaken. Towards the place which it has left it turns its one jealous eye. It apprehends from the papal fold unceasing danger, and watches every movement of instinctive life as preparation for an attack on itself. To the other side it pays no attention. Dissent may multiply itself, by division, into a thousand new polypi, each capable of further subdivision; and, still worse, infidelity may creep on and on, and narrow its precarious holding, and undermine, with sullen strokes, its very standing place. It heeds not, so that popery can be checked. But we will venture to say that the dreaded stroke will come, at last, from the dementedly blind side, that on which the ecclesiastical eye has been long slumbering in fatal security. Nay, the bow has been drawn close, the string has vibrated, and the first shaft has anchored in its side. "*Hæret lateri lethalis arundo.*" It is a poisonous infidelity.

We are inclined, however, to look at the subject from a different point. The ecclesiastical Establishment of this country has been anxiously engaged for many years back, in opposing the introduction of novelties in practice and in teaching. But in doing this, it has exhibited not merely the one-sidedness to which we have alluded, but still more a littleness and narrowness which brings it within the reach of a severer reproof than any from us can be. We



cannot forget the condemnation of those who attend to the tithes of mint and cummin, but neglect the weightier things of the law, (Matt. xxxiii. 23,) nor of those who strain out a gnat, but swallow a camel. (Ib. 24.) If a stone altar is erected, it throws thousands into convulsions, and forms matter for judicial proceedings, the great cause of Vandal v. Goth, carried of course by the former. If flower-pots presume to bear upon "the table," no longer allowed to be an altar, the most beautiful and innocent of God's gifts, Exeter rises in judgment, and withers them with his destructive touch. Is the sermon to be preached in gown or in surplice? At the suggestion of such an enquiry men's hair seems spiritually to stand on end: at the attempt to appear in one of the two vestures, the ladies go into hysterics, the gentlemen into a rage; many people out of church, and some into dissent. Episcopal charges are brought into action, and strong prohibitions are pronounced, to allay the ferment. Shall the service be chaunted or recited, shall the sustained monotone or mere reading be used, shall cathedral services be performed in parochial churches, or in chapels no longer of ease? Zealous butlers lead on the mob without, and no less zealous young men lead the choir within, till a mingled holocaust of murdered notes jars upwards towards, if not to, heaven. Officious churchwardens are collared in church, and police courts become the theatre of parochial war; till St. Paul and St. Barnabas might well, if present, again rend their garments (Acts xiv. 13,) at seeing the frightful scissure in their supposed congregations. And so, on the "prayer for the Church militant," and crosses, and candlesticks, and stained windows, and painted walls, the Anglican episcopate is great and valiant, and fiery with expurgatory zeal, and curiously watchful, lest the first deviation from Puritanical stiffness, or Calvinistic coldness, should prove a first step towards the genial and generous regions of the Church.

What a swarm of small gnats have not the rulers of this national system thus endeavoured to strain out of the food prepared by them for their followers! Not a filament of a limb, not a film of a wing of the little popish creatures has been allowed to spoil the confections of these savoury manipulators. But the camel that comes dry, parched, hard and uncouth as the desert whence he springs, walks boldly in, a huge mass of ill-made-up heresies, with a lumping

hunch of infidelity on his back, and nobody interferes with his progress. Nay, strange to say, he and his followers, as many as Madian and Ephraim can send, are not only freely admitted within the mosquito-curtains of the national sanctuary, but, to their own astonishment, are eagerly swallowed, and melt endearingly in the complacent stomach of expansive Anglicanism. How little does the anti-baptismal decision of the Gorham case now disturb any ecclesiastical digestion.

But we must change our strain, and strike a graver chord. Although inconsistency often borders on the absurd, and so provokes lighter handling, infidelity will not admit it. It is too closely allied with the dark and the deep in the spiritual life to be treated otherwise than in sad and sober earnestness. The book before us recalls us from any playfulness of vein in which we may have indulged, and throws a weight upon our responsibility in which we are far from delighting.

Dr. Donaldson is a learned, a shrewd, and an ingenious scholar. He has been advantageously known for years, as a philologist of more than ordinary attainments, as a commentator on Pindar and Sophocles, and the compiler of a Hebrew, a Greek, and a Latin grammar. In addition to the titles which he wears on the title-page of his new work, of Doctor of Divinity in the English Establishment, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, he is actually, we believe Head Master of the Grammar School of Bury St. Edmund's; consequently not only a recognized teacher of theology, but an actual instructor of youth, under the guardianship of the episcopal body recognised by the State.

"Since," he tells us, "Divine Providence called me away from the study of law, first to philology, and then to theology, I have received this one talent; I have obtained one means and instrument of the ministry, which I have considered it a sacred duty not to hide in the earth, lest I should darken my candle, whatever worth, in the obscurity of the bushel."—p. 36.

We quote these words, that so much of his own history as the author has chosen to communicate may be known at the outset. Further we profess to know nothing; nor have we to deal with him in any other capacity, than in that of an author, who constitutes the public his judge; however he may, as Dr. Donaldson does immediately

after the words just quoted, reserve his reward to the future judgment. We neutralise, by previous acceptance, all assurances that he is upright, amiable, honourable, and blameless in all the relations of life. These nowadays are compatible with the publication of flagrant infidelity. And this charge we are bound deliberately to bring against the book of "Jashar."

It is a sealed book to the great class of English readers; who seldom ask at their circulating library for a volume written in modern Latin, and having three or four sentences of untranslated Greek and a dozen Hebrew words per page, with a dash here and there of Arabic or Syriac, and a relish of German. Moreover it was printed in Germany, and has a foreign face on its type, not congenial to English eyes. Why therefore disturb its silent course, through the smoky regions of Teutonic study, at Halle, or Göttingen, Heidelberg or Rostock? Why call attention to it, and reveal its dangers where hitherto unknown? Our reasons for this line of conduct may be better seen later. Suffice it now to say, that we consider it a duty to expose every symptom of that plague which necessarily springs from undirected liberty of religious speculation.

What, the reader will first ask, is the meaning of the title given to the work?

Twice in the Old Testament the book of *Jashar* or *Jasher* is quoted, once in Josue x. 13, and once in the second book of Kings or Samuel i. 18. The Vulgate translates the name, calling the work "the Book of the Just." Each of these references is connected with a short poetical effusion, the first with the account of Josue's address to the sun, the second with David's lamentation over Saul and Jonathan.

It is not worth while disputing minor questions arising from these references. We will at once admit that there was a book named the Book of Jashar, and that it consisted of, or at least contained, various poems. But we cannot feel so sure why it bore that name. It may have been compiled by a person to whom this epithet had been given, for it simply means "the book of the upright man."\* Or it may have taken its name, like books of

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\* In words connected with this meaning, we have a difficulty in finding an adjective corresponding exactly with the abstract quality. Thus we have *rectitude*, and *probity*, without any corresponding

Scripture, from its first word; or it may have been familiarly called so from some particular passage, as the very plaint of David seems to have been called "The Bow," from a beautiful phrase in it. These are some of the many conjectures hazarded by commentators, who believe this book to have been a collection of various pieces. There is little enough of certainty; merely two facts, that there was an ancient book called "Jashar," and that Jashar means either "an upright man," or "uprightness."

Slight as is this foundation, it suffices to bear Dr. Donaldson's whole theory—that as this epithet is often applied to the Israelites, as a title, though always in the plural, and indeed, according to him, forms the basis of the very name of Israel, (*quasi Isr-el*), "it is sufficiently evident what sort of a book was this of Jashar. It was undoubtedly a collection of old poems, and other monuments connected with the piety and history of the people who worshipped Jehova. Whether with the Septuagint you render it 'the book of uprightness,' or with the Chaldaic, 'the book of the law,' *you must conclude*, that this book was a compilation or collection, containing all those fragments which delivered the rule of religion, the pith of the law, which either exhibited the nature of probity, or celebrated the victories of the true and sincere Israelites, proclaimed their felicity, or promised their future happiness. *Whatever, of this character, found mixed up with the sacred writings of the Jews may be reckoned an old fragment, will claim a place among the remains of the book of Jashar, and return to it, by right of restoration.*" (p. 25.)

Here is indeed a bold and quick arrival at a conclusion. But we must observe, at the outset, that our author is not deterred by trifles. When he does gain a consequence, whether by the circuitous route of emendations, transpositions, conjectures and metamorphoses, or by the one spring over five-barred difficulties, which have baulked the most daring in the chase before him, he always reaches his

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epithet: whereas in Latin *rectus* and *probus* are the very words we want, especially the first, for Jashar יָשָׁר. We shall therefore always use the words *upright*, and *uprightness*, when we wish to convey the corresponding terms for Dr. Donaldson's explanation of that Hebrew word.

point with a confidence, a positiveness, not to say an assurance, which almost makes his reader afraid he must be right. There having been a book entitled of "the upright," nay even "of the law," you *must* conclude not only that it contained a certain class of poems, but that every poem in Scripture that can be brought into that class was necessarily in it. We will test this assertion later, more particularly. For the present let us see the extent of this swelling conclusion. Because twice in Scripture a few lines are quoted from a book, our author undertakes to apportion to it a series of long extracts, in prose and verse, ranging from Genesis to the Psalms, divided into seven distinct parts, each part again subdivided into fragments, not following one another consecutively in the scriptural volume, but picked out from different places, and brought into connection on a merely arbitrary plan of distribution. In fine, the imaginary book of Jashar was composed of the following parts.

PART THE FIRST. The history of creation, to show that man, created upright, fell through carnal wisdom. First fragment, made up from parts of Genesis i., vi., viii., vi. Second fragment, parts of Genesis ii. and iii.

PART THE SECOND. The family of Abraham adopted as "the upright," to be sons of God. First fragment, rejection of the families of Cham and Chanaan, in general, (Gen. ix.). Second fragment, rejection of the Kinnæans, (Gen. iv.) Third fragment, rejection of the Agarenes (Gen. xvi., xvii. xxi.) Fourth fragment, rejection of the Idumeans. (Gen. xxiv. xxvii.)

PART THE THIRD. "The upright Israelites, escaped from Egypt, after forty years passed in the desert, and many other fluctuations of fortune, dedicate a temple to Jehova, in a tranquil land, under the peaceful king Solomon," (Gen. viii. 6-2.) Let the reader mark the reference.

PART THE FOURTH. "The Laws of God to be observed by the upright people." First fragment, the ten commandments, (Deut. v.) Second fragment, the pith of the divine law, (Deut. vi., x., xi.) Third fragment, the inculcation of obedience, (Deut. viii. vi.)

PART THE FIFTH. "Blessings and exhortations to the upright," Canticles of Jacob, (Gen. xlix.), of Balaam, (Numb. xxiii., xxiv.), and of Moses, (Deut. xxxii., xxxiii.)

PART THE SIXTH. "Wonderful victories and liberations of the people." Ovation of Moses and Mary, (Exod. xv.), of Josue (Jos. x.), and of Debora (Jud. v.)

PART THE SEVENTH. "Various songs on the rule and happiness of the upright during the reigns of David and Solomon."

We shall have to lead our readers through these different parts, to enable them to see clearly the religious opinions proposed by our author. But we are met at the threshold by one or two important enquiries. For example, when was this book of Jashar compiled, or when were the songs of which it is to be reconstructed, originally put together?

Dr. Donaldson unhesitatingly answers, during the reign of Solomon, the Augustan age, no doubt, of Hebrew literature. "The king himself wrote a good deal, and we possess many remnants left by him, relating to philosophy and poetry. He may have been a tyrant, but he was a theocrat, and religious, and one who professed to have received divine inspiration," (p. 26). Such is the character given of Solomon and of his writings, which Christians, as well as Jews, have revered as belonging to something higher than is here allowed them. Material happiness and prosperity having now reached their summit, no time seems more suitable for extolling the privileges of the upright people, and for putting together whatever described this happy lot reserved to it.

Such are the general grounds for attributing this Authology, as our author sometimes calls it, to the time of Solomon. Then he proceeds to more particular proofs, which are certainly good evidences of system-building power. We will run through them. The second, for instance, is this, "As in the blessing of Jacob's children, which is certainly to be referred to the Jasharan collection, all the tribes are mentioned as still living together, our Authology must have been anterior to Jeroboam's shism," (p. 27.) The third is, that in the same blessing (Gen. xlix. 5) occurs the Greek word μάχαρη for a sword, and that this could not have been introduced into Hebrew, till after David had surrounded himself with Cretan guards the Cerethi of the vulgate. This is altogether a tissue of uncertainties.\*

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\* To build a theory, which would overthrow admitted doctrines



But the reader will at once see, that these arguments, if sound, prove, not merely that the book of Jashar was put

respecting Scripture, upon disputed translations of words and sentences is surely not merely dangerous, but unfair. In this instance, there is no proof that the Cerethi were Cretans, nor that a Greek word occurs in the passage, nor that the word means necessarily a sword. We throw this discussion into a note, as not likely to interest general readers. First as to the Cretan satellites, or prætorian guards supposed to have been introduced by David; it is principally a similarity of names that gives colour to a conjecture made by Calmet, and led the Septuagint to give a similar version, in passages which will not bear it. It is certain that before David came to the throne, there was a tribe bearing this name. For during Saul's lifetime, a young Egyptian captive says to David, "We made an incursion against the *Cerethi*, כֶּרֶתִּי and the territory of Juda..... and burnt Siceleg with fire" (1 Reg. or Sam. xxx. 14.) It is also plain from Ezechiel (xxv. 16) that there was a Philistiaë tribe of the name, dwelling on the sea-coast. Indeed there is a play of words on the name useful in other respects. "I will stretch out my hand against the Philistines," (to whose guilt alone the passage refers,) "and I will *cut-aïl* the *Kerethim*, and I will destroy the remnant on the sea-coast." In Sophonias it is the same. "Wo to you, inhabitants of the coast-nation of Kerethim; the word of the Lord is against thee, Canaan, land of the Philistines," (ii. 5.) These are not the Cretans surely, but a Canaanite tribe. If thus we find such a clan existing before David, and continuing to the time of Ezechiel, settled in the land of Palestine, why conclude, or rather conjecture, that the Kerethi whom he enlisted in his service, and who are united (2 Reg. xv. 18.) with the Pelethi, whom Dr. Donaldson himself calls Philistines, (p. 128) were not members of this tribe, but people of the same name brought from Crete? If we read in our history that the Queen was escorted by the Boston militia, what should we think of a foreign historian, who should conjecture that they were a body guard brought from America? We should say that Boston existed in England first, and continues till our time, and probably gave rise, by colonization, to its more distinguished namesake across the Atlantic. And so we may say here. If the similarity of names between Cretans and Kerethi be such that one *must* be derived from the other, surely, as the gulf-stream of emigration and colonization set in from the east towards the west, and since the Phœnicians as we call them generically, that is the mixed tribe, from the coast of Palestine, have left traces of themselves, waifs and strays on each side of their course, on the north in Cyprus, Malta, Sicily, France, Spain, and still further, on the south along the African coast to Carthage and beyond, it would have been strange if Crete had not been visited, and even become a

together in the reign of Solomon, but that the pieces composing it, at least the prophecy or blessing attributed to

settlement. And after all, the traditions of Cadmus, "the eastern" in Greece prove the influence of Asia on Greece. Or why not make David's guards to have been Curetes from Sabina, or *κουρητες* from Phrygia? Each is more like the Hebrew. Which conjecture then is more probable, that as most of the islands and countries from Tyre to the Columns of Hercules obtained, and yet retain names of Palestinic origin, so Crete should have suffered the same fate; or that David should have sent for Cretan guards, while we have a tribe close to him bearing the name attributed to them?

The play upon the words in Sophonias suggest the possibility after all, of the opinion which makes David's body guards to have been composed of two classes, not two nations, the *Kerethim* slayers or executioners, from כרת *Karath*, to cut off or destroy, and the *Pelethim* runners, from a root existing in Arabic, with an analogous one פלץ in Hebrew, to be fleet. The version Philistine, which Dr. Donaldson takes from Ewald, has not been generally adopted.

The next question is, does a Greek word occur in Jacob's prophecy? The word in question is מכרות "their *mekaroth*," and this is the supposed plural of *mekera*; (see also p. 196) we say supposed, because the word occurs no where else in Scripture either in singular or plural. We do not suppose that Dr. Donaldson would derive μάχαρρα from μαχουμαι, as some etymologists do: for the *p* seems manifestly radical. Whether, however, he does or not, the Hebrew word has its analogous derivatives from a common root, through which the idea of piercing or digging, as in *transfodere*, prevails. There is no evidence that the Greeks may not have learnt the word from the Phœnicians, from, or through whom, they learnt probably many uses of war. The word παράδεισος, though in form so Greek, came from Persia, nearly as it stands. The Hebrew כפר *kopher* and the Greek κύπρος are the same in letters and meaning; shall we conclude that the Canticle of Canticles in which it occurs, (i. 14) drew it from Greece? Or does מור *mor* come from μύρρα or, לבנה *Lebona* incense from λίβανος, or *carcum* from κροκον, or *crocum* (more commonly written as a masculine), though etymologists find a plausible root in Greek and we have none in Hebrew? These two words would also form an argument for the Canticle in which they occur, having been subject to Hellenic influences on the language of Judea. Or does מסך *masak* to mix, come from μισγειν? We might multiply examples to any extent. But is it impossible that even such a similarity of words may have been accidental? St. Jerome translated נוגה *nughe* in Sophon. iii. 18, by *nugæ*, on purpose to show a coincidence between Hebrew and Latin.

If therefore μάχαρρα is to be found in Jacob's prophecy, we are

Jacob, in Genesis, was only written at that later period, and consequently was not Jacob's, but is a forgery falsely attributed to him, and no prophecy. But more of this later. The next argument, from the same blessing is more startling. "As the most probable interpretation of a difficult passage in the same canticle (Gen. xlix. 10.) recognises by name Solomon (*Shelomoh*) in the abbreviated form of *Shiloh*, as the man of rest, (1 Paralip. xxii. 9.) this song was composed in his time." So there is an end to what has been considered one of the standard prophecies of the time, coincident with Christ's coming, of the Messiah's appearance on earth. The last is also singular. In the prophecy of Isaac to his sons, he tells Esau that he shall shake off his brother's yoke. (Gen. xxvii. 40.) Now this took place in the time of Solomon, by Adad, the last almost of the slaughtered Idumeans, reigning in Syria. (3 Reg. xi. 25.) This argument proceeds on the assumption, that Isaac's prophecy was no more his than Jacob's was that patriarch's, but *must* have been written after the event, which it describes as future and prophetically announced!

The form of these arguments is also peculiar. Let us first assume that such and such portions formed a book called Jashar. Now there is internal evidence that they could not have been written before Solomon's time; therefore the book was not compiled before it. If Dr. Donaldson had only chosen to admit into his Jashar a few other pieces, such as the song of the three children in Daniel, he might have proved that the book of Jashar was not compiled till the Babylonian captivity. We are forgetting however that their history, as well as that of Daniel in the lions' den, according to Dr. Donaldson, is only a fable. (p. 306.)

But, in truth, we do not see why Dr. Donaldson should limit, on his own principles, the compositions that enter into the book of Jashar. He has no doubt first to determine that it was put together in Solomon's time, and then, having introduced into the series only what is com-

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quite as entitled to make it a word learnt by Greece from Asia, as to build a theory upon the opposite genealogy. And finally it is by no means universally admitted that the word means a sword at all; as the Lexicographers will show.

patible with that scheme, argue back, from its internal evidence, that it was compiled at that time. If the book was of such a definite character, that he can exactly determine all that entered into it, without reference to age, he ought to admit all into it that bears that decided Jasharan stamp, wherever it occurs. It is as easy to bring down to the age of its compilation what stands recorded at a later period, as to bring up to it what has been always considered earlier. Why should not a canticle in *Isaias* be pronounced Jasharan as well as one in *Genesis*, and be equally attributed to Solomon's time, if it be proved to have the necessary characteristics, and it can be proved that the book of Jashar was then compiled? But if the latter cannot be proved *a priori*, then such a canticle comes into the data for determining the age. Let us illustrate our meaning by an example.

The twenty-sixth chapter of *Isaias* contains evidently a detached canticle, introduced by these words: "In that day shall be sung this song, in the land of *Juda*." It would not be difficult to show, on Dr. Donaldson's plan, that this composition has stronger marks of a Jasharan fragment than others which he has inserted in his collection. And further, we would give the reader his choice, whether it should be made plausibly evident, by such arguments as he uses, that it is a fragment of earlier date, in fact of David's or Solomon's time, or should be proved to belong to a later period than even *Isaias*'s. In the latter case, of course it would follow, that the book of Jashar was a much later compilation than he makes it.

Dr. Donaldson considers it a strong primary evidence of the "*indoles Jasharana*" of a composition, that it contains the word *Jashar*. For of Balaam's prophecy he says, "If there had been nothing else relative to this matter, except that wish, 'may I die the death of those upright men!' I could not have failed to recognize there the spirit and matter of the book of Jashar," (p. 211.) And again of the Canticle of Moses, he writes, "That it was composed expressly for insertion in the Jasharan collection, I conclude from the use three times in it of the poetic name *Jeshurun*." (p. 221.) Now in no other poem is this normal word so decidedly used, together with its equivalent, and parallel צדיק *tzadik* just, (p. 21,) as in this; as if to indicate that the canticle particularly celebrates the triumph of the poor and despised people of God, (compare

Anna's Jasharan song, p. 290,) who walk in the paths of justice and uprightness, over the strong and powerful, but wicked. We will give the verse as it is in the Anglican version, though we do not consider it to be correct. "The way of the *just* is *uprightness*; thou most *upright* dost weigh the path of the *just*." (v. 7.)

Here then we have a poem which "indolem Jasharanam apprime sapit," having its stamp in its object and its phrases. But in addition it has other secondary marks. It calls God by the abbreviated name of Jah, (v. 4,) of which, our commentator tells us, in proving that Psalm lxviii. (Heb.) belongs to his favourite collection; "Even that more ancient form *Jah* alludes to Exod. xv. 2," (a most genuine Jasharan piece,) "which passage Isaias also has imitated." (xii. 2.—p. 336.) The presence of this word corroborates our more direct proof, that this chapter belongs to Jashar. But further, in the same verse God is called צור *tzur*, a rock, a peculiar title which occurs several times in Jasharan compositions, such as the Canticle of Moses, "a poem which Isaias *seems* to have known." (p. 223.)

We think there is as much ground for admitting this poem into the book of Jashar, as for any placed in it by Dr. Donaldson, unless it be decided beforehand, that nothing later than Solomon's time can be introduced; in which case it looks very uncritical, to pretend to prove from the internal evidence of the documents, that they were put together then.

However, what if one could show, on the sort of reasoning which Dr. Donaldson triumphs on using, that this chapter of Isaias has lost its place, and was written in the time of David? Nothing more easy. We could tell the reader to compare v. 2 with Ps. cxix. 19, 20,\* where the gates are ordered to be opened, for the *just* to enter in, (that is גוי צדיק *goi tzadik* the just nation, or Israelites, in the prophet); the expression "keeping truth," with Ps. cxlvi. 7; in v. 3 the peculiar form for "trusting in Thee," (בך בטוח) only we believe to be found in Ps. cxix. 7, verse 3. "The way of Thy judgments," we would compare with Prov. viii. 20, and xvii. 23; also קיונך "we have waited, or longed for Thee," in this form of construction

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\* We follow the Hebrew numeration.

peculiar to the Psalms, (see xxv. 5, xl. 2, cxxx. 5.) The expression *רצון נפש* "desire of the soul," which comes in the same verse, is only to be found in Ps. x. 3. Verse 9 expresses the same thought as Ps. lxxvii. 7. We could then conclude that this canticle, making it end at v. 11, where there is a break in the text, was composed at the same time as the Psalms.

In the same style as the book before us, we could add, that the song could only refer to the destruction of the Idumæans by David and Joab, when every male was slaughtered, (3 Reg. xi. 15, 16); for the description of the "high cities" can only allude to the dwellings of that race. Therefore, this poem was composed in David's time.

But if, on the other hand, we wish to extend the compilation of the book of Jashar to a later period, or to decide its age by impartial judgment on documents bearing its impress, it would not be difficult to prove the phraseology of the passage before us to be perfectly that of Isaias, and the destruction of Edom alluded to, to be that which is described in Jeremias, xlix. 7—23, and which forms the exclusive topic of the beautiful prophecy of Abdias. And then, if this chapter be proved, by internal evidence to be Jasharan, that collection cannot have been completed earlier than the reign of Ezechias.

In enumerating Dr. Donaldson's reasons for ascribing his book to the period of Solomon, we passed over the only one like an argument—the first. It is this: as we know the book of Jashar contained the lamentation of David over Saul and Jonathan, it cannot have been compiled before their death. This is true of the real and lost book of Jashar, but proves nothing for the collection which Dr. Donaldson calls by that name. It may be said; but the book of Josue, which likewise speaks of the book of Jashar, as containing that chieftain's address to the sun and moon, cannot have been written before the death of Saul. We reply by accepting the old and simple theory, that this collection, like "the books of days," or chronicles of kings, was made gradually, as inspired songs were spoken and admitted into it. And so the words of Josue were recorded in it, and it could be referred to by the writer of the book bearing his name, long before David mourned, and had his funeral song inscribed in the same record. This is a much simpler theory, and certainly



more conformable with admitted doctrine, than Dr. Donaldson's.

But there is one objection to his whole scheme, which strikes us as obviously fatal, independent of its own total capriciousness. If there existed a series of Hebrew poems collected, or even expressly composed, to instruct the Jewish people, that the inheritors of uprightness were to be faithful to God's law, and thereby happy, and prosperous,\* there is one book which it appears strange should either have been excluded from it, or should not have so superseded it, as to have rendered such a compilation or composition unnecessary. On looking back over our marginal notes on the work we are reviewing, we find several times repeated such remarks as this, "why is not Job attended to?" With one trifling exception,† it was not till page 328 that we found it referred to for the first and last time, in connection with our subject, and even then only in this transient remark, a parenthesis in fact. "From the intimate connection which pious Israelites thought existed between the uprightness of God and the worldly happiness of upright men, which connection indeed that wonderful book of Job endeavours to vindicate, Solomon's contemporaries did not hesitate," &c. Hence in the index of Scriptural passages referred to in the volume, there is not one from this book.

Now what, after all, is the drift and the gist of the book of Job? It is an example of what heathen philosophy considered the noblest spectacle that mankind could present to heaven, an honest and virtuous man struggling with misfortune, but not sinking under it. It is a vindication of God's "uprightness" in not allowing the "upright" to be overwhelmed, but giving him even temporal prosperity in return for his unflinching adherence to his "upright" course. The book exhibits a model of this peculiar virtue, far more striking than any selected for celebration in the book of Jashar, as imagined by Dr. Donaldson.

It describes the wonderful prosperity of a princely man,

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\* Hence Dr. Donaldson considers the verb *אִשֶּׁר* *isher*, the root of words meaning happiness, to be originally and radically identical with *יָשָׁר* *jashar*. (p. 21-24.)

† P. 75, where it is quoted to disprove the existence of Angels.

in early days, of one who dwelt not in tents, but whose children had separate households—whom yet the very first sentence of his book describes as “perfect,\* and upright (*jashar*) and fearing God, and declining from evil.” There surely is no parallel to this character in the Old Testament, as to the peculiar virtue supposed to be celebrated in the book of *Jashar*. Nor is this enough: God gives him the same character twice, in presence of His heavenly court, and of Satan. (i. 8. ii. 3.) Surely this is enough to constitute him the very type of the “upright,” and determine the whole object of his history.

And this view is further confirmed, by the expressions of the book itself. To give two examples. In chapter iv. 7. Eliphaz says: “Remember, I pray, who that was innocent ever perished, or when was an upright man (*jashar*) cut off?” And Bildad (viii. 6): “If thou art innocent and *upright*, He would awaken to thee, and make peaceful the dwelling of thy *justice*.” The purport of the reasoning pursued by Job’s friends was, to show that affliction and suffering were proofs of wickedness; a reasoning confuted by the very issue of the history, and by the censure of the Almighty umpire in the dispute. (xlii. 7.)

Was it necessary to draw up a motley book of *Jashar*, such as Dr. Donaldson supposes, for a given purpose, while so full, so regular, so noble, so sublime a composition existed in Hebrew literature, not to speak of Hebrew theology? At any rate, we may ask, why did he not refer to this book, if at no other time, when he was endeavouring to define the meaning of *Jashar*? For here the word has its signification better defined than any where else. Three times the same explanation is given. “Perfect,” *הם* is the man “that fears God,” “upright,” *ישר* is he “who avoids wrong,” declining neither to right nor to left; as the “just,” *צדיק* is he who holds balanced level the scales, weighing all with impartial hand.

Shall we conjecture, that Job confutes too evidently the whole of the theory, whereon Dr. Donaldson bases his fiction of the book of *Jashar*, for it to have been promi-

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\* We use the word of the Anglican version. Here again we have a substantive corresponding well to the Hebrew word, but no adjective. *Integer*, complete, conveys its idea; *integrity* we have received into the language, but nothing more.

nently brought forward? For it describes a perfect specimen of the upright man, the Jashar, as a native of the land of Hus, that is of Edom; not an Israelite, but an alien, or rather something worse. According to our author's theory, one great purpose of the book of Jashar was, to record the exclusion of Edom, or the descendants of Esau from all participation in the blessings of the "Ecclesia Jasharana." (pp. 87. 122. seq.) Job clearly had nothing to do with the ritual or other specific institutions of the Jews, with their priesthood or sceptre, with their tabernacle or temple, with Moses or Solomon, with Sinai or Sion. Yet every high principle of Jasharism, if we may use the word, such as Dr. Donaldson has formulised it, is to be found in his history. Does not this overthrow the whole theory of its nature?

We have been, we fear, tediously long in discussing the very existence of the book of Jashar, according to Dr. Donaldson's conception of it. And yet we have got over only a small portion of our investigation. We must ask our reader patiently to go through the seven divisions of our author's imaginary book. It is only thus that the deleterious nature of his system can really be understood.

The first section contains two so-called fragments, the first consisting of Genesis i. 27, 28. vi. 1, 2, 4, 5. viii. 21. vi. 6 and 3. The second contains Gen. ii. 7-9, 15-18, and 25. iii. 1-19, 21, 23, 24.

Many of our readers will not at once understand the ground of this apparently capricious distribution of the first chapters of Genesis into two *fragments*. So far Dr. Donaldson's division is not original. It was, we believe, Prof. Eichhorn who first suggested, that the first chapters of Genesis were composed of two separate narratives, going over the same ground, and distinguishable by the circumstance that in one, God is called by this simple name, (Elohim) in the other He is called the Lord God (Jehovah Elohim). This view he originally put forward in 1790;\* his theory modifying that of Astruc, who tore up Genesis into twelve different records interwoven together, and of Ilgen, who had reduced them to three. As, however,

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\* In Gabler's *Repertorium*; and more fully in his *Einleitung in das A. T.* vol. iii. 24 seqq. 3rd Ed.

it, at most, may suppose that Moses had access to older documents which he inserted into his history, it was adopted, among others, by the learned and good biblical critic and collector De Rossi of Parma, who wrote a dissertation in support of it, communicated to us, but never published. Taking up this same system, but differently applying it, Dr. Donaldson calls the supposed authors of these two sets of documents, the Elohist, and the Jehovist.

We may charitably suppose that he passes over the entire history of creation without intending thereby to reject it, but only wishing to begin with what he considers commenced the book of Jashar, the history of man. The two fragments comprehend this history, from the creation to the deluge, with a marked exclusion of all that relates to either. The names of Adam, of Eve, and of Noe are obviously avoided. The first is simply man, created without reference to other things; the verses containing the formation of the woman are omitted, though in clear sequence to what God says on the subject. Every allusion to Noe and the Deluge is omitted; so that when God, according to Scripture, Gen. vi. 7. said, "I will destroy man," &c., for these words is substituted v. 3, omitted in its right place; "my spirit shall not remain in man," &c. Why this transposition? Simply because Dr. Donaldson does not believe there ever was a deluge, or consequently a second father of the human race.

Over his history of the fall we must cast a veil; for we cannot venture even to give a vague or general account of his theory. Those who have curiosity to read it must go to the original. We can only say that if the Church of England can allow its sons and daughters to have Scripture expounded to them as the learned have it here; if on the one hand she desires every one to read this sacred book, and that with intelligence of its full and right sense, and if she expects every minister of hers to make this sense known to all under his care, and if further this, not only her minister, but one of her Doctors, complies with this duty in accordance with the system and phraseology of his book, we must conclude that there is an end to every claim on her part to be a guardian, we will not say of faith, but even of morals.\*

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\* We are obliged therefore to decline the discussion of the

The explanation propounded by him supposes the entire history of man's fall to be an allegory, or in technical phraseology a *myth*. There was, of course, no serpent, no apple, no colloquy between the tempter and the tempted. The temptation was all from within, and St. Paul so explained it. This leads to a further, and important conclusion, which we must translate *in extenso*.

"Relying on such an authority, we may confidently asseverate, that the whole source and substance of sin is exclusively in the depraved flesh or heart of man.... This doctrine we extract from the oldest fragments of the Pentateuch. This the Apostles proclaim. This Christ Himself pronounced, not by an obscure oracle, but candidly and openly, as was His wont. However there has stuck to the minds of many divines, those particularly least remarkable for learning and judgment, a certain opinion, or rather hallucination, that sin itself, and solicitation to offence do not flow from the interior of man, but are derived from elsewhere, and from without. For, they lay down, that before man was made, there existed some sublimer race of animals endowed with reason, whom they call *angels*; that they were *created* indeed, but *immortal*; incorporeal, but somehow that you know not, subject to concupiscence; that some of these sinned before man had sinned, and in a body had fallen off from God; that ever since they weary God Himself and man whom He made, by a perpetual war. [They assert] that Beelzebub, their prince, having assumed the body of a serpent, persuaded Eve to eat the forbidden fruit; that the same to our days suggest to each man whatever of evil thought insinuates itself into our minds; nay that he solicited Jesus Christ, to renounce his office, and vow obedience to him, the apostate and rebel. This is that doctrine which our John Milton commended, not to say consecrated by his genius; which if you go against, there are even as yet among our doctors, some who would think you were knocking out their brains. But even, if you grant that there are to be found some passages of doubtful authority, some metaphors or

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philological assertions by which this system is supported; though some of them are most rash and untenable. The violence done to the word *אָרַב* the heel (*a kibe*) is atrocious. Let us make two remarks on it, 1. That not only the very word occurs twice in the Jasharan writings, but both times with the same idea commonly joined to it here, that of laying in wait to bite it, (Gen. xlix. 17. 19.) in one instance *at least* with the figure of a serpent. 2. The reference made to a verse in Jeremias to support the new meaning is of no value; because that passage may be even explained as Dr. D. wishes, by an euphemism, such as the Keri suggests on Is. xxxvi. 12.

accommodations of words, and parabolic narratives of events, which may seem to favour, to a certain extent, this opinion, you must nevertheless contend, that it is perniciously repugnant to the whole design of Scripture, and the clearest words of Christ and His Apostles."—P. 65.

We should think few plain and simple-minded readers of Scripture can fail to be astounded, which is akin to being stunned, or having one's brains tolerably knocked about, on reading this passage. And though the strong expressions at the end directly refer to the existence of evil spirits, that molest man in the spiritual life, yet it is plain from the beginning of the extract, that the whole race of angels is excluded from the Jasharan theology. Indeed subsequent assertions of its author will prove this.

But he proceeds to give several arguments, by which, he says, "it will be sufficient if he briefly puts to flight the whole system." The first argument is, that only God can act directly on the spiritual part of man. Any other spirit must act therefore through the senses. If an evil one could act directly upon the soul, he would usurp the power of God. "Therefore the pretended devil ('Diabolus ille quem perhibent') does not act directly and immediately on the soul of the sinner." If on the other hand he incorporates himself with the limbs and flesh of man, and so stimulates inferior appetites, then he loses all personality, and no distinction exists between him and the flesh. It is not therefore a spiritual being that tempts. "And than this conclusion," our author winds up, "there is not a more certain demonstration in Euclid." (p. 67.) The decision of this point we leave to Cambridge. There occurs however an illustration of the argument, which runs as follows. "When St. Paul, writing about some infirmity of his, says 'there was given to me a sting of the flesh, an angel of Satan, who should buffet me,' (2 Cor. xii. 7.) it is clear that he, with the rest of the Jews, attributed to a spiritual malignity of some sort, even corporeal disorders, the origin of which was not yet discovered. And yet we know, that all these have their seat only in the nerves of the body." Is not this rather a buffet for St. Paul? It is telling him that, after having been up to the third heaven, and heard the mysterious wisdom, which God alone speaks, he came down again so ill instructed in doctrine, as to believe in the existence of evil spiritual



influences, as the Jews did, and so deserve to be classed by Dr. Donaldson, Head Master of Bury St. Edmund's school, and ex-Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, among those divines "who are least endowed with learning and judgment;" for his youngest scholar, instructed by him, could have informed the heaven-taught Doctor of the Gentiles, that the seat of *his* disease (if he spoke of one) was in his nervous system, and had nothing to do with the imaginary being in whose existence he manifestly believed. It is some comfort however for us to have such a companion, in the censure of the modern Doctor of gentilism.

His second argument is that the Scripture recognises no tempting power except what resides in man himself; that "the world, the flesh and the devil" are not three, but one, represented under three forms, and mean only the incentives to sin that exist in our own hearts; that the "wicked one, the tempter, and finally the devil" of the New Testament signify only our own passions; while "the Prince of this world" (Jo. xiv. 30.) receives a very shady definition. (p. 69.) Our Lord said to His disciples, "I will not now speak many things with you; for the Prince of this world cometh, and in me he hath not anything." If we substitute Dr. Donaldson's fuller exposition of the phrase, the text will run as follows: "I will not now speak many things to you: for 'a certain notion of mundane wickedness distinct from matter but personified, a type, appearance, and idea of something which exists in all, but cannot exist in a separate state,' cometh, and in me he hath not anything."

Now this must have been a moving allegory, a walking phantasy, which our Lord saw coming towards Himself and His disciples. If it was habitually there "in all," or at any rate had been there most of the evening in Judas, He could not well have seen it now coming, so as to cut short His discourse. How could it be a thing that "cannot exist in a separate state," if it was coming; an action completely *ab extra*? But finally, and most painfully, how could our Saviour say, "and in Me he hath nothing?" if Dr. Donaldson's third argument be any thing but a blasphemous heresy?

We approach the subject most reluctantly, and will content ourselves with translating his words. For the world

must know what doctrine is now being openly taught in the Anglican religious Establishment. Thus he writes.

"But I proceed to prove that the Saviour Himself was not exposed to other solicitations to sin, than those which naturally result from the flesh of man. I pass over the temptation in the wilderness. Every one must see that by that narration, Jesus described with what dangerous thoughts He wrestled, before He entered on His office of teaching, joined to the exercise of a heavenly power."—P. 70.

After discussing several texts, one of which "every interpreter as far as he knows has hitherto misunderstood," he gives the following objection and answer.

"But some one will say: how could Jesus put off a *sinful* flesh? Was He not without sin? Is the 25th Article of the Anglican Church false, which declares" (that He was exempt from sin in the flesh as in the spirit)? "The answer to such a question need not be sought; for unless we deny, (which would be heretical) that Jesus Christ has so assumed human nature that the two natures, the human and the divine, were entirely and perfectly joined inseparably in oneness of person, of which is one Christ, true God and true man,' (Art. 2) we must acknowledge, that the same Christ, as man, was subject to those troublesome thoughts, which minister allurements to sin. This is declared by the temptations which He underwent. But as He was perfect God, it could not be, but that He subjected to Himself all matter of sin. .... In Him, as in the rest of men, struggled the *flesh* and the *spirit*; (1 Pet. iii. 18) but as He was God-man, 'and appeared that He might take away sin,' He was easily victorious, and 'in Him there was no sin.'"—P. 71.

We will only remark, that exactly the contrary doctrine has been ever held in the Church; that our most Blessed Lord could not be tempted from within, but only from without. We cannot indeed be surprised that the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception should be unintelligible, where there is so little sense of the personal holiness of our Lord.

If evil spirits are so unceremoniously got rid of, we may perhaps expect good angels to be treated with better courtesy. This, however, is far from being the case. According to Dr. Donaldson, as other oriental nations worshipped the heavenly bodies, the Israelites seem to have compromised for their propensity to this idolatry, by imagining them to be living beings, "an army or chorus,

that executed Jehova's behests, or sung His praises." (p. 75.) This is illustrated by several texts, in which the stars, for example, are invited to praise the Lord. "With which you may compare the vision of Isaias, (vi.) who thinks it right to commit the triple salutation of the Divinity to those body-guards, who either bore or surrounded God's throne."

These images relate to the representation, by symbols, of God's invisible majesty: when the Jews wished to describe the exercise of His invisible power, they used as their images more atmospheric phenomena. Winds and clouds form the winged car on which an angry God rides. But the Jews treated the clouds as the car, rather than as the messengers of God, (differently from the Hindoos): for these latter are what we, by a Persian name, call Angels. "That these angels were nothing more than wind and lightning, which are intimately connected with the clouds, is demonstrated by the classical passage in Psalm civ. 4." Then as the rainbow is like a bridge between earth and heaven, it is not surprising that the Jews should have taken it to be the causeway to the heavenly courts, (*Bethel*) and imagined it to be a ladder, up and down which God's ministers passed. (p. 76.) "Since therefore by Angels they meant, not beings endowed with reason, but winds and lightnings," (did they imagine that these went up and down the rainbow?) "they distinguished the violence and assault of these two elements which served God, by proper names. The *winds* indeed they called *Cherubs*, and the *lightning Seraphs*. Each designation is most apt for signifying its object." After quoting passages well-known to all, where God is described as riding on the Cherubim and on the winds, he proceeds, as usual with him, to etymological disquisitions. We will content ourselves with that on the Cherubim.

"The very etymology of the word כְּרֻב (cherub) agrees wonderfully with this signification. For the Sanscrit root *grabh*, Gr. ἀρπ-αζω, Lat. *rapio*, Goth. *greip an*, which occurs not only in this word, but in its synonymes γρῦπ-ς, κερβ-ερος, ἀρπ-υια, excellently describes the *rapid* force of the wind carrying everything off."—P. 77.

We hardly remember to have read, in any German commentator, a piece of philology more extraordinary. A cursory reader would take it for granted, that the etymo-

logy of Hebrew, or Semitic, words, is to be ordinarily sought in Sanscrit and German, or Indo-Germanic roots. The two names, Cherub and Seraph are a pair of words, descriptive of a purely Jewish idea. Cherub more especially is such; for it is never used simply for "wind," but always in conjunction with God. We never read that "the Cherub blew," or that there was a "high Cherub." This was reserved for modern art to represent, after heraldic and funereal cherubs had been reduced to nothing but puffy cheeks and wings. Well, is it credible that the Jews should have got from a strange family of languages the name for this exclusive symbol, and formed from a purely domestic source the other name, which might possibly be ambiguous?

But let us see the etymology. For the sake of inexperienced readers we must observe, that in tracing etymologies, first, only consonants are cared for, and secondly consonants of the same organ are easily exchanged. Still some specific analogy ought to exist between the derivative and its proposed origin. Having asserted that a Cherub is only a wind, or a storm, and offered to prove, or at least confirm this, from etymology, and having travelled even to another ethnographic family for his evidence, the author may reasonably be expected to bring us thence words analogous in letters, which mean a wind, or a tempest, or an aerial phenomenon of some sort. Instead of this we have a set of verbs, descriptive of one only of the properties of the wind. Nor does that quality exclusively or peculiarly belong to it; nay, it belongs as well to a torrent, or an army, or a wild beast, or a thief, or a miser, or a tyrant, or banditti. For the words cited mean not, to blow, nor to be boisterous, nor to agitate, nor to root up, nor to collect clouds, nor in fact anything more or less than to snatch and carry off. In fact the familiar English *grab*, is the same as the more solemn Sanscrit, shorn of its final unpronounceable aspirate: to *gripe* comes nearer to the supposed root than the Gothic *greip-an*, having no *An-hang* after it; and the Persian گزفتن *gerif-tan* to take hold, grasp, or the Latin *carpo* belongs to the same family.

But more extraordinary than all, is the very unpleasant connection into which the CHeRuB-im are etymologically brought by Dr. Donaldson, when he declares their name

to be a synonyme of CeRB-erus, GRyP-s (a griffin), and the HaRP-ies. The capitals will shew the frame-work of the words, and their coincidences. The natural conclusion to which the reader should come from this assertion is, that if the common root of all these words be such as obliges one of its derivatives, *eo ipso* to signify the wind, and they are all its synonymes, all these words also mean the same. So that Cerberus, Gryps and Harpy, being deduced from the Sanscrit *Grabh*, all mean either one or several winds, or sorts of storms. Otherwise they are no synonymes of Cherub.

We are not, however, yet come to an end. God placed Cherubim to guard the gate of paradise; which means, according to our author, that wind and fire shut up all access to God, for us mortals. "So among oriental nations these symbols" (that is fire and storms) "which are called by various words, if not of the same origin, of the same signification, Cherubim, Cerb-erus, Grypes, Sphinxes, perhaps called by the Egyptians *Kerabu*,\*—guard all hidden, mystic and secret things, treasures, temples, sepulchres, palaces, the regions below, and the palaces of heaven." (p. 78.) Here the Harpies have disappeared, but the Sphynxes have taken their places; unfortunately without any Œdipus to explain, how they have got among the cognates of *Grabh*. It now, therefore, appears that the analogy between the Cherubim and profane mythic animals is in their guardianship of mysterious things and places. We think CHaRyB-dis, that storm of water which guards the gold-island of Sicily, has a right to enter into this class as well as the Sphinxes. Or really, to show to what lengths such fanciful etymologies, and word-play may be carried, we might gravely assert, that we find a great analogy between other animals of monstrous form, or mystical attributes, and the Cerbero-grypic family. It is in crustaceous animals, armed with forceps-shaped claws, admirably formed for GRiPing, GRasPing,

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\* If *Kerabu* be an Egyptian word for a compound animal called a Sphinx, and Dr. D. finds an analogy in it to Cherub, how can he derive this from Sanscrit? Has *Kerabu* anything to do with winds and storms? Let him stick to one or the other etymology: not give the one as certain, then throw out to us another, and an incompatible one.

and doing all comprised under the idea of the Sanscrit GRaBH. Such are the CRaB, the sCoRP-ion, and the sCaRaBeus, or large sacred Egyptian beetle, a sort of which Pliny tells us, has serrated claws (or chelæ) like the other two.\* We think, moreover, that the original etymology of all such words from winds might have been improved by such additions as CaRB-as, a wind mentioned by Vitruvius as blowing from the East, and CaRB-asus, by-the-bye a Hebrew word borrowed by the Greeks, (כַּרְפָּס *carpas*) a sail filled by the wind. We do not, however pretend to reconcile this first etymology with the subsequent description of the duties of our rapacious though sacred animals. For, winds and storms pursue a destructive and uprooting policy, while Cerberus, Griffins, and Sphinxes are eminently conservative; and we cannot understand, how the often repeated "synonymes" derive their meaning from violent snatching away (*ἀπρᾶξω* and *rapio*) yet signify the guardians of things which others wish to carry off, or must not approach.

To conclude this lengthy discussion, we will say, that if any analogy offered itself to the mind of Dr. Donaldson between the Cherubim, and those other symbols, it should have been that these were supposed to represent entities, not imaginings, that they all were thought to have an unearthly form, though composed of earthly forms, two of them compounded from various animals, the same as are attributed to the Cherub. This is a strong analogy, and one more truthful, together with their custodiant duties, than an attempted connection of all these beings or shapes with the wind, through an insufficient foreign etymology.

But were the Cherubim which, with outstretched wings, formed the mercy-seat of the Tabernacle, symbols of storm and angry judgment, and not also of forgiveness and kindness?

Before, however, leaving this subject, let us plainly look in the face of the influence on the New Testament, of Dr. Donaldson's theory. He denies totally the existence of Angels, good or bad. Putting aside therefore the important part which they bear in the older dispensation, let us

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\* "In quodam genere eorum grandi, cornua prælonga, bisuleis dentata forcipibus in cacumine, cum libuit ad morsum coëuntibus." H. N. xi.



ask, was there no such a being as an Angel engaged in announcing the Incarnation to Mary, or in ordering Joseph to fly into Egypt; or in ministering to our Lord in the wilderness, or in comforting Him in His agony, or watching His tomb after His Resurrection, or consoling the disciples on His ascension; or in freeing Peter from prison? Were all the agents in these events called Angels in the narration of them, ordinary men, or freaks of imagination, or symbolical inventions of the narrator, or an electrical light, or vapour, or opportune physical phenomena? If so, where has the Gospel given us the key to so important a secret? Not surely in philological and etymological discoveries of the omniscient nineteenth century. Again, when our Redeemer spoke of the Angels of His little ones, did He speak astrologically, and mean their stars? Or on so many other occasions, when He named Angels as seeing God, as rejoicing with Him on the penance of sinners, as resenting scandals, or as separating the good from the bad, at the end of the world; or when He spoke of His heavenly Father as having legions of them ready to send to His rescue, if He wished it, did He mean anything real, explicable by the *usus loquendi*; or are all these, fanciful tropes, manners of speaking, religious imagery; and are Angels mere nobodies, unexistences, in one word, fictions? Does Dr. Donaldson stick through the New Testament, to his theory in the Old, that Angels are only the *Host* of heaven visible to the eyes, captained by planets, and officered by brighter constellations? How were these to be sent forth, to meet the Roman and Jewish satellites? Was it to be merely by their combined sidereal influence that they were to act, and render planet-struck the already demented counsellors of Israel? Or shall a profane imagination be tempted to fancy a squadron of shooting stars detached from the firmament, under the lead of Sagittarius himself, loosened from the golden zone of heaven, for a more material warfare?

But enough on this subject, which could be much further pursued, especially by reference to those passages, in which the excellence of our divine Lord is enhanced by comparison with the prerogatives of Angels, and His ministry in the New Law is contrasted with theirs in the promulgation of the Old. On what remains to be done in our limited space, we shall endeavour to be less diffuse.

We will content ourselves, and we trust our readers, with simply stating Dr. Donaldson's views, offering only brief remarks. If we have gone more fully hitherto into purely philological discussions, it has partly been to remove the impression which a display of exotic erudition too often makes, in favour of error. Seeing a paradox, or an infidel opinion maintained with great positiveness, by an appeal to words in strange characters, and transmutations of mysterious letters, the reader presumes that there must be something, if not a good deal in all that. Let us assure him that in general, a little sifting of this erudition will give the same proportion of scorise and metal as the Cherubic theory.

The second part of the book of Jashar is made to begin as follows :

#### Fragment I.

"Gen. ix. 18. [Adam (that is man) after that from Eden] he went out, had three sons, Sem, Cham and Japhet. But Cham was the father of Chanaan.

v. 19. The descendants of these were spread over the whole world.

v. 20. And [Adam i. e. man] began agriculture, and planted the vine.

v. 21. And having drunk wine he was inebriated," &c. To the end of the blessing of Sem and Japhet.—P. 81.

#### Thus begins Fragment II.

"Gen. iv. 2 [And Sem begot two sons, Cain the elder] And abel his brother." And so on to v. 7, when the text thus continues : ["But to Abel Jehovah said,"]

[Gen. xxii. 15.] Because thou hast done this thing and hast believed in me,

[Gen. xv. 7.] Behold I have reckoned it to thee unto justice,

[Gen. xxvii. 29.] Hence thou shalt be thy brother's master,

v. 7. And his appetite shall be under you."—P. 83.

#### Thus opens Fragment III.

["And Abraham, the son of Abel, took to wife his relation Sara.] Gen. xvi. 1. But Sara, the wife of Abraham, bore him no children," &c.—P. 83.

The third fragment gives the history of Jacob's obtaining the primogeniture and the father's blessing belonging to his brother Esau. In the narrative of the latter event, the verses mentioning Jacob's covering his hands, with the kid-skins, and the father's examining him are omitted. But at the end comes the following strange interpolation :

"[Then Esau became a Cinite, i. e. איש קין (ish Kain)  
a man of the spear,

And he was called not as before 'Esau the son of  
Isaac,'

Gen. iv. 18. But he was called Lamech the son of Mathusaleh.

He therefore after he had left the society of his father,

ver. 19. Took to wife *Ada* daughter of Elon the Chittite also  
called *Judith*

xxvi. 34. } And *Tsilla* daughter of Ana the Chivvite, also called

xxxvi. 2. } *Oholibama*.

When therefore he had got a sword and lance,

He thus sang boastingly to his wives]

Gen. iv. 23. *Ada and Tsilla*," &c., to the end of v. 24.

"Gen. xxxvi. 8: [Therefore Lamech, who is also Esau, dwelt in  
Mount Seir, among the Cinites and Agarenes.  
Seeking his food by violence, arms, and plunder.]

Gen. xxviii. 9. There besides the wives whom he already had,  
he took also *Machalatha*, who was the daughter  
of *Ismael*, the son of *Abraham*," &c.

The reader will easily perceive that Dr. Donaldson attaches very little value to the early genealogies of Scripture. In fact he tells us so. "Whatever the case may be, it is certain that either the first or the second genealogy (Gen. v. x.) is false and supposititious." (p. 106.) "Henry Ewald has sufficiently demonstrated that not only the two genealogies which precede, but the third which follows, the deluge, were made up arbitrarily by their writers." (p. 106.) Accordingly Dr. D. has as much right to draw up a new one, which the authorities of his religion allow him to teach to the youth of their establishment, presenting, among others, the following features.

Adam was the father of Sem, Cham and Japhet.

Abraham was the son of Abel,

And the father of Lamech, who was the same as Esau.

And this is called expounding the Holy Bible!

The reader is probably somewhat bewildered at this inversion of things; and may ask, what has become of Cain and Abel, of Noe, and others?

As to those two brothers, their history is this;—simply they never existed. They are two ethnographical myths and nothing else. For nothing does Dr. Donaldson more contend than for the theory, that Abraham was the son of Abel, yet they were one person. At least we can make nothing better out of it. 1. We are told that "from the

etymology of the name of Abel...it is clear that not Adam, but Sem was the father of Abel. Nor is it difficult to explain how this name got interpolated among the children of Adam." (p. 105.) An etymology on one side, Scripture on the other. A Catholic at least will prefer the latter. In fragment the third, we have seen Abraham distinctly called "the son of Abel." 2. From the Epistle to the Hebrews and St. Matthew, it appears that in the first century after Christ, there was something in the text of Genesis, which attributed Abel's sacrifice to faith, and so identified it with that of Abraham, that, "if we had no other argument, from this alone we might conclude, that Abel and Abraham are to be referred to the same category in the religious history of the Jews." (p. 111.) Is it the category of myths, or symbols? "This being the case, what prevents our picking out of Abraham's history those words which suffice to restore the passage?" (Those introduced from Gen. xxii. and xv.) Surely every thing, unless Abel and Abraham were one, in reality or in fiction. 3. "We have seen that the name of Abel designated not so much Abraham himself, as Abraham's pious family." (p. 115.) If the reader have made out who or what was Abel, we envy his power of discernment. To us he appears to be, Abraham's father, Abraham himself, and Abraham's son.

Then was he not murdered by his brother Cain? Nothing of the sort. The whole history is an allegory, thus explained by our commentator. The Cinites, or Kinæans were the descendants of Cain, (of course the deluge is not supposed to break the descent) and whatever they may have done cruelly against the Jews, or Abelites, at an earlier period, they repented, and befriended them as they passed through the desert. Like the ideal Cain, who also repented, they had their sentence of death, incurred in common with other Canaanite tribes, commuted into that of perpetual banishment, and wandering in the desert. God, to save them from the vengeance of His people on meeting them, set a sign on them, which was that they should live apart from the Amalekites in Arabia; so that when Saul exterminated the latter, he expressly spared the first. And so ends the history of Cain and Abel, with all the illustrations drawn from it, as real, by Christ and His Apostles. For if you ask Dr. Donaldson, how our Lord could speak of "the blood of Abel the

just," as really shed, (Mat. xxiii. 25,) he coolly answers you, "that it was not the office of Jesus Christ to examine, according to critical rules all the traditions of the Jews." (p. 112.)

As to Abraham himself we have further only to observe, that he had two names; one historical, Abram, which "when he turns into an ethnographic person," (or character) "is prolonged into Abraham." (p. 116.)

In reading the history of Isaac and Abraham it is clear that they have got so mixed up, "that one may rightly doubt, whether we are reading the actions of one man or of two, or not rather the traditions of the tribe over which both ruled." (p. 120.) On what St. Paul writes about Ismael's persecution of Isaac, (Gal. iv. 29,) Dr. Donaldson makes this remark; "I see that the apostle, in treating of this passage has indulged his fancy very freely, and has granted to allegorizing interpreters of Scripture who have flourished after him, ample liberty to dare anything." (p. 119.)

Passing over the etymological researches about Esau, otherwise Lamech, which latter name turns out to be Greek, so that the history of him who bore it cannot have been composed till the times of the Cretan mercenaries, researches which we think will be valued low by those who will study them, we pass to the deluge. But like one who should have been long absent from a place where a vast lake or morass covered a wide extent of land, and on returning finds it, to his astonishment, drained dry, so will the reader be, if, standing on what he has considered till now the high ground of revelation, he expects to see, in a biblical exposition of Genesis written by an Anglican D.D. the account or commemoration of the great Flood. It has disappeared; drawn off, out of all existence, by the geological perforations, and shafts, or drunk up at the annual meetings and trips of scientific investigation. The question in the mouths of such writers is, "give up either the Bible or the Deluge. Science won't let you have both." And it is the same with creation by days. The time is come for faith to bring its peace-offering to the altar of research. The mighty power has its huge steam-hammer raised up; it asks for two victims at least, in acknowledgment of its supremacy, the Mosaic records of the beginning, and those of the renovation, of the world, its birth and its baptism. In the last century men reasoned differently. They took the

Bible as a whole, a unity, by which they must stand or fall. The Voltairian infidel in all the pride of nascent science exclaimed; "the Mosaic records of creation are disproved by young geology and old astronomy; the stratifications of lava in Sicily, and the zodiacs in Egyptian temples prove them out of joint and out of date. The very foundations of your whole scriptural system are gone; your fabric totters; lay your biblical simplicity at the feet of science, blaspheme God, and die." Christians then, in the confidence of faith, recoiled from the terrible alternative. They bid science walk on, and explore the earth and its depths, the heavens and their heights to its heart's content; but be sure that it would be able to forge no new weapon against that teaching of God, which had stood the rudest tests.

They were right. We doubt if one of those boasted facts, discoveries, or calculations, on the strength of which Christians were summoned to surrender their faith in Scripture, would now be admitted as true, by men of science. They would say; if the science of the last century had nothing better to claim abjuration of Christianity upon than these facts, it could make out but a poor case. Now, however, things are altered. Science asks only for a compromise, a barter. "Give me," it says, "up creation and the flood, and I will compound for the rest. I will allow you a refracting atmosphere for Josue and Ezechias; and a high tide with a north wind will get you through the Red Sea." Some divines of the Anglican system are preparing themselves for the bargain. They will dismember the Bible, and throw limb after limb to the Moloch that pursues them. We, for our parts, stand firm. We will not give up an atom of revealed truth; convinced as we are that it is readily harmonised with all certain science.

We have indulged in these remarks, somewhat at length, because we believe that this compromise with infidelity is gaining ground. We will give one evidence of it. On the last day of May, this year, what is called the leading Journal had an article on the unpractical character of Anglican preaching. The next day the following letter appeared in its columns.



“TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

“Sir,—In your paper of to-day, I, in common, I doubt not, with a large number of your readers, perused with deep interest some admirable remarks on the general character of the preaching in our national churches, called forth by the recent charge of Arch-deacon Sinclair. You justly adverted to the wide field open for usefulness in a more explanatory and enlightening kind of instruction than that so often dispensed from the pulpit.

“I cannot avoid alluding to an actual case of recent occurrence, which offers a somewhat striking comment on your remarks, and, I fear, a too obvious justification for the unconstructive and routine nature of the discourses of which you so justly complain.

“If there be one topic more than another which in the present state of information, especially among the educated classes, may call for some consideration at the hands of the clergy (indeed, you have intimated as much), it is surely that furnished by the advances made in science, and their real or apparent bearing on religion. One of the most striking instances of this kind, is the discrepancy between the discoveries of geology and the Mosaic narration of the creation. Now, Sir, on Septuagesima Sunday last (when the proper lesson is Gen. i.) I happened to be present at a church in the north-west portion of the metropolis, and heard a discourse, of which I will say no more than that it placed that very material question in a light in which I believe every enlightened and serious inquirer would rejoice to see it explained, including a recognition of the scientific facts, and a full admission of their irreconcilable contradiction to the narrative, coupled with the most earnest assertion of the truth of the New Testament dispensation, and its entire independence of any such representations belonging to the Old.

“Now, Sir, what was the consequence? It would seem that some of the congregation entertained very opposite ideas to those you have so ably upheld. Instead of appreciating such instruction (a little out of the beaten track it must be owned), certain bigotted individuals took the gentlemanlike course of turning informers, and denouncing the sermon to the Bishop of London. I should mention that the preacher was not the regular minister, but a friend who occasionally assisted him. The sermon not being hidden by an almsdish like the crucifix at St. Bennet's, the bishop could not ignore it; and the incumbent, having the fear of his pewrents before his eyes, of course declined further enlightenment for his flock!

“I could give further particulars, but have, I believe, said enough to warrant the question, whether this occurrence and the spirit it indicates, encouraged, too, by the rulers of the Church, may not fully account for the prevalence of ‘the black tape system’ which you so admirably expose?

“I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

“June 1.

PHILELEUTHEROS.”

Here is a case in point. From an Anglican pulpit the cosmogony of Moses is proved to be contrary to geological discoveries, is rejected; and yet christianity is shown to be totally independent of the Old Testament. This is sacrificing more even than we should have thought demanded.

To return, however, to Dr. Donaldson's view of the deluge. According to him the scripture narrative of this event is nothing more than an allegorical description of the various fortunes of the Jewish people, till the time of Solomon, who is meant by the name of Noe, or "rest." (p. 140.) His scriptural account begins thus—

"Gen. vi. 6. When the whole earth lay overwhelmed by the waters of the deluge,

"But Israel walked uprightly and religiously," &c.—p. 133.

The Ark was the Ark of the Covenant; the crow sent out represents the scouts who discouraged the people, the dove those who encouraged it on its march towards peace.

This is the only view of the flood which the book of Jasher took. There is another, a historical one. It is probable that some early people going from Armenia to Asia Minor, were overtaken by a sudden rising of rivers in a muddy alluvial plain; that many were drowned, and a few escaped with their cattle in a boat, or more probably along a chain of hills. A third remains, which Dr. Donaldson considers confirms his view. It is that taught by those "*præstantissimi duumviri Paulus et Petrus.*" St. Paul of course is named first. The reasoning by which our author proves that the Apostolic illustrations of baptism, drawn from the deluge coincides with his theory, that there never was a deluge, is a rare specimen of logic. According to one Apostle baptism was symbolised by the deluge, (1 Pet. iii. 20,) according to the other the same Sacrament was typified by the Exodus. "Now two things which agree with a third must necessarily agree with one another. *Ergo*, if nothing more, according to these authors, there is some connection between the deluge and the Exodus." (p. 143.) This appears to our simple apprehension much the same reasoning as the following. Our Saviour says He was symbolised by Jonas in the whale's belly, (Mat. xii. 37,) and also that He was typified by the brazen serpent in the desert. (Jo. iii. 14.) "*Ergo*, if nothing more, there is some connection between the brazen

serpent and the prophet in his unpleasant situation." It so happens however that St. Paul's typification of baptism is not in the mere Exodus, but in the passing through the Red Sea. (1 Cor. x. 1.) This does really give us a triple analogy, in the water common to all three, Baptism, the Red Sea, and the Flood. Surely Dr. Donaldson's eyes must be open to the clear evidence, that the only similarity between the three consists in this common element, and that St. Peter never meant *his* dry deluge, his symbolical flood, to represent baptism. And then what becomes of that solemn warning of our Lord, "as in the days of Noe...the day in which Noe entered into the Ark," &c. (Mat. xxiv. 37, 38,) which He applies to His own coming? Does He compare His own last coming to judge the world to what never was? to a fable? to a stupid false tradition? Surely men would have little to fear, if Dr. Donaldson's opinion about Noe were true; viz., that he never was, except as a synonyme to Solomon.

The third part of Jashar consists of three extracts from Deuteronomy, containing moral precepts. This will not delay us much; as we will only note a few passages.

1. Quoting or rather giving Deut. vi. 5, he adds in a note. "The levitical compiler here thrust in some mention of the sedition of Core," &c.: (omitted therefore by Dr. Donaldson.) "The original poem however only commemorated," &c. (p. 155.) A similar omission, of an order to exterminate other nations, is made. (p. 157.)

2. Deuteronomy is the only book of the Pentateuch which seems to find much favour in our author's eyes. "The books themselves, as exhibiting divine laws differ in this, that Exodus and Leviticus direct the attention to rites rather and ceremonies, to formulas and notes, *such as a College of priests might invent.*" (p. 159.)

3. Before the reign of Ezechias there was only one book of the law known, that of Jashar. Micheas who flourished in that reign quotes it, but also quotes Deuteronomy. Somehow or other, it seems that these were one and the same book, if we understand Dr. Donaldson right; though we are not sure of this. At any rate, it is the universal doctrine of the prophets from Samuel to Jeremias, nay to the compiler of the books of Kings, who lived at least forty years after the beginning of the captivity, that God did not wish to be honoured by sacrifices; consequently He had instituted none. It fol-

lows that the books of the Pentateuch, which are filled with precepts about ritual worship, were written after this latest period. Indeed our author boldly asserts, that till after the captivity no Jewish sacred book existed, except Jashar, and some way or other, to us not clear, Deuteronomy, or parts thereof. (pp. 158-162.)

4. Christ our Lord knew no other book of the so-called Pentateuch. On this most important subject, we must content ourselves with translating one or two sentences. "He neglected in life the laws about sacrifices, rites and ceremonies, not recognizing them, and abrogating them by His death." (p. 163.) Did He not order the lepers whom He cleansed, to go to the priests and offer up the gifts prescribed in Leviticus? Did He not eat the Pasch, with reverence, and make it His own symbol? And was not this shown to St. John, in the form of a Lamb lying as slain on the heavenly altar? What did He mean by saying: "if thou hast laid thy gift upon the altar, &c... return and offer up thy gift?" (Mat. v. 23.) if He considered sacrifices as mere superstitions, and modern inventions, how could He command, in this case, to return, and offer up the gift? But one of the passages just referred to deserves a further remark. Jesus told the leper, to "show himself to the priests *and offer the gift which Moses commanded.*" (lb. viii. 4.) Now the offering of this gift is not enjoined in Deuteronomy, but in Leviticus. (xiv. 2.) Our Lord therefore reckons this among the books of Moses, not among the inventions of sacerdotal colleges after the captivity. By-the-bye this idea is not new; for many years ago it was asserted in Germany, that these books and those of Kings must have been written when the priests had it all their own way, that is in the days of the Machabees. And so admitted was this conclusion, that Gesenius in his Essay on the Samaritan Pentateuch, which we have not at hand, boldly decides that it was not translated before a very late period, simply because it was not composed earlier.\* But to return,

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\* Even Eichhorn, however, learnedly proves that all the Pentateuch was the work of Moses, with trifling additions by his contemporaries. He shows particularly that the language is too archaic to belong to the period of David and Solomon, to which Dr. Donald-

Then surely, if Christ, by His death abrogated the ancient sacrifices, He thereby recognized their lawful existence, and their typical meaning. He cannot be thought to have given His own life, as a sacrifice which only took the place of spurious inventions of a hypocritical priesthood, forgers of heavenly credentials, nor to have converted these into foreshadowings of His own priceless offering. He showed indeed contempt for the traditional corruptions of the law, their Pharisaical washings, and Sabbatarian superstition; but He clearly recognized the rites and institutions of the Pentateuch as divine.

But what shall we say of the entire drift of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which is to prove, by contrast, not by rejection, the superiority of Christ's priesthood over that of Aaron, and of His oblation above that of the Law? In every line almost of the book are the prescriptions of Leviticus and Exodus alluded to. The election of Aaron (v. 4.), the consecrations by sacrifices and sprinklings with blood and scarlet wool and hyssop (ix. 19.), the offering of goats and calves (12.), the daily oblation (vii. 27. x. 11.), the yearly entry of the High-priest into the Sanctuary (ix. 7.), all the parts, utensils, and rites of the Tabernacle as described in Exodus (ix. 1. seqq.), are distinctly not only admitted, but made the groundwork of the conclusion that "the Law having a shadow of the good things to come, not the very image of the things, by the self-same sacrifices which they offer every year, can never make the comers thereunto perfect; for then they would have ceased to be offered: ...but this Man offering one sacrifice for sins, for ever sitteth on the right hand of God" (x. 1-12.).

It seems an act of blindness or insanity to assert, that Our Lord, or the New Testament, ignored the ancient sacrifices and ritual as a part of the Theo-Mosaic law.

Further, Christ, according to Dr. Donaldson, when "He thinks it worth while to appeal by express quotation to the law of Moses, never quoted (*laudavit*) the ritual books, but *thought Deuteronomy alone* (the book) to be quoted, as *the sole authority*. Thus *when He describes to His disciples* in what a conflict of mind and thought

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son attributes the compilation of the book of Jashar. (*Ubi sup.*) It is lamentable to find a professed German rationalist more orthodox than an Anglican divine.

He contended, when approaching His office of publicly teaching and working miracles, He thrice quotes Deuteronomy, as giving help and comfort." (p. 163.) We merely interrupt the text to call attention to this rash and sacrilegious perversion of the Gospels. Our Lord is never said to have told the disciples His thoughts, but His temptations are described as events; He did not quote the three texts to His disciples, as comforting, but to the Evil one as confuting. We proceed with the Doctor's text. "And when He quotes the first and second commandments, which embrace the sum of law and prophets, He had in view only Deuteronomy, *although the latter part of His quotation occurs casually (obiter) in Leviticus*. (Mat. xxii. 37-40. s. l.)" Our author then has thus undertaken to prove that Christ, in delivering moral precepts, *never* refers to the ritual books, but *always* to Deuteronomy. Yet in the only illustration with which he favours us, Our Saviour gives two commandments as of equal authority; "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart" from Deuteronomy (vi. 5.), and "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" from Leviticus (xix. 18.)! Is Dr. Donaldson really in earnest? From his own solitary example, he ought to have deduced that the two books were of equal standing and authority in our Divine Master's eyes.

But further, what does he mean, by saying that the second precept of charity comes only *obiter*, that is "by the way," where it stands in Leviticus? For the context runs thus: "Thou shalt not calumniate thy neighbour, nor oppress him by violence...thou shalt not speak evil of the deaf...thou shalt not do that which is unjust, nor judge unjustly...thou shalt not be a detractor nor a whisperer among the people. Thou shalt not stand against the blood of thy neighbour. I am the Lord. Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thy heart, but reprove him openly, lest thou incur sin through him. Seek not revenge, nor be mindful of the injury of thy citizens. *Thou shalt love thy friend as thyself*. I am the Lord." (xix. 13-18.) Could words cohere more completely with their antecedents than those which are declared to be placed *obiter*, as if out of place? They comprise the motive and summary of all that has been commanded: act towards others as you would that they should act towards you.

He goes on. "Whether the whole Pentateuch, such as



we have it, was in the hands of the learned in the Law, at the time that Jesus lived among men, or rather different parts of it were separately issued, and were known to the Pharisees rather than to the whole people, I will not decide. *Jesus knew the book of Genesis* (!) for He mentions Lot's wife, and the destruction of the Sodomites. He alludes casually to Lamech's song (Mat. xviii. 22.); and, according to Mark, He expressly quoted Exodus as a book of Moses... But if He knew the other books and thought they were to be overlooked (*negligendos duxit*) we conclude by an argument *a fortiori*, that Jesus recognized the law of Moses, which claims a divine origin to exist, not in those books, but in Deuteronomy." (p. 164.)

This reasoning is certainly startling. Besides the three texts alleged in the temptation, not applicable to the case under consideration, that is, Christ's appeal to the Law in His public teaching, we find, from Dr. Donaldson's own analysis the following results.

Our Lord quotes Deuteronomy *once*.

He cites Leviticus in conjunction, and without distinction.

He quotes Exodus as a book of Moses.

He refers to Genesis *twice* as relating *true* facts, illustrating his own mission from them.

[We may add that He refers to Numbers, when speaking of the brazen serpent. (Jo. iii. 14.) Again He alludes to this book as "the law," in Mat. xii. 5; the reference being to Num. xxviii. 9.]

Therefore Christ rejected all the books of the Pentateuch, except Deuteronomy!

But we emphasised a phrase at the beginning of this long quotation, because too important to be overlooked. It stated that Our Saviour, in appealing to the Law of Moses, referred to Deuteronomy as the sole authority. Now we ask, is it that defect of vision which system-building always causes, or is it a wilful shutting of his eyes to evidence that convicts his assertions of inaccuracy, that has made Dr. Donaldson overlook two passages, in which Christ refers to Deuteronomy, as to the law of Moses, but specifically for the purpose of correcting and abrogating it?

It is in Deuteronomy (xxiv. 1.) that the law of divorce is laid down: and to it Our Lord thus refers: "It hath been said, whosoever shall put away his wife let him give

her a bill of divorce; but I say to you, whosoever shall put away his wife," &c. (Mat. v. 31.) Yet there is a further remarkable lesson to our purpose, in this correction. Our Saviour actually amends the law of Deuteronomy from Genesis, and what is still more singular, from a portion of it which Dr. Donaldson has studiously rejected. For, in giving us the first chapters of that book, as he conceives they entered into Jashar, that is in their primitive, uncorrupted state, he omits, certainly not by accident, the account of the creation of Eve.\* (p. 39.) Yet our Lord refers to this very passage, and on it bases the abrogation of the Mosaic law in Deuteronomy, and the establishment of the New Law of marriage. "Have ye not read that He who made man from the beginning made them male and female? And He said: 'for this cause shall a man leave father and mother,' &c. (Gen. ii. 24.)...What God hath joined let no man put asunder...Moses, by reason of the hardness of your heart permitted you to put away your wives. But in the beginning it was not so." (Mat. xix. 4-8.)

After these specimens of Dr. Donaldson's treatment of the Pentateuch, we will not weary our reader with the many other passages in which the blunders, interpolations, and critical errors of its parts are alluded to; but hasten on to the fifth part of Jashar. It contains the prophecies of Jacob, (Gen. xlix.) of Balaam, (Num. xxiii. seq.) and the Canticle of Moses. (Deut. xxxii.) Of the first, our author says: "on the age and author of this Canticle there have been many opinions. Some people are even as yet found, who believe that Jacob himself sung these words.....But even if you suppose Jacob to have been some man, and not, as I have before shown, the name of the Jasharan nation, and that he had twelve sons, &c., how can any one in his senses believe that a decrepit old man" could have written such a poem? "One is sorry

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\* So he excludes the description of the rivers of Paradise, as a blunder of "the old geographer" who wrote it; for "that Masoretic scribe, when he had to treat of the origin of the human race, not only collected the most ancient and most true traditions of history, but according to his wont, mixed them up with the religious poetry of the book of Jashar." (p. 73.) How are the two assertions to be reconciled?

and ashamed to confute such a childish interpretation in the middle of the nineteenth century after Christ." (p. 192.) It was written by a poet of Solomon's time, after the event. (p. 194.) There was no order of Levites in Solomon's time, or of priests properly so called. This class attained great power later, after Athalia's death, but it was only developed under Esdras, on the return from captivity. The canticle of Jacob was written before these times. (pp. 188, 228.) The *Shiloh* is struck out altogether, the name being merely an abbreviation of Solomon.

Balaam's prophecy is "simply poetical and forged," (confictam.) It was clearly written under Solomon. (p. 208 seqq.) The history of Balaam did not exist when the poem was composed. (p. 216.) The star and sceptre that had to rise in Israel relate to David. (p. 217.) However as all is written in the future tense, and clearly intended to pass off as a prophecy, we can call it nothing better than a forgery, if Dr. Donaldson is right.

The same judgment is passed upon the Canticle of Moses; all critics are agreed, he tells us, that the name prefixed to it is false. (p. 219.)

Before closing this fifth part, let us bring before our reader's mind one more text of the New Testament. Our Lord says to the Jews: "There is one that accuseth you, Moses, in whom ye trust. For if you did believe Moses, you would perhaps believe me also; for he wrote of me. But if you do not believe his writings, how will you believe me?" (Jo. v. 45.) This surely supposes the Jews to have been in possession of "writings" by Moses: and these writings spoke of Jesus; consequently were prophetic.

According to Dr. Donaldson, at the time of Solomon, and even to Ezechias, no writings of Moses existed except the book of Jashar, and perhaps some parts of Deuteronomy, then contained in it.\* How very small this book

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\* "The quotations of Micheas and others which I have mentioned above, show that many other parts of Deuteronomy had a place in the book of Jashar; but the last edition of Deut. which has come down to us, has so introduced the patches of coarse cloth into the old garment, that it is difficult to separate the original from the insertions, without some fear of tearing. Let these three fragments therefore be as specimens, to which the learned reader may add as much as he pleases of Deuteronomy" (P. 179.). And what shall the ignorant reader do, who is simply told to read his bible?

was appears from Dr. Donaldson's work. Its Hebrew text occupies thirty-seven pages. Did our Saviour, in speaking of the writings of Moses, mean only the scanty compilation of documents in Solomon's time, or did He include the later forgeries or crude collections of Levitical scribes after the captivity? In decency, our learned divine will not make Him refer the Jews to these, as the best evidence in His favour, nor as being "Moses accusing them." This would hardly have been even just. Well then the book of Jashar at least contains the Moses's writings, and the prophecies of Christ, alluded to. But where? The very canticle that bears the Jewish lawgiver's name is spurious, and an afterthought of Solomon's time. Neither it, nor Jacob's testament, nor Balaam's songs are prophecies, nor Moses's writing or recording. And as to the prophecies, even those that were supposed to exist in these compositions, our modern commentator has struck out every one of them! What then did our Blessed Lord mean by these words? Where was their argument?

Should Dr. Donaldson say, that He appealed, by an argumentum ad hominem, to what the Jews thought were the books of Moses, we reply first, that he has already deprived himself of this argument, by expressing doubts whether in the time of Christ any besides the Pharisees knew or possessed the Pentateuch; and secondly that it is almost blasphemous to attribute to our Lord an appeal to evidence which he knew to be spurious, in that serious manner. "If you do not believe his writings, how will you believe Me!" This is equivalent to saying that the writings of Moses had evidences as strong as those which He put forward for Himself. It is thus that the tampering with the Old Testament saps the very foundations of the New.

The sixth section of Jashar, the last which we shall comment upon, is composed of three fragments—the triumphal Canticle of Moses and his sister (Exod. xv.); the song of Josue, made out of a variety of pieces from the Psalms, Kings, Exodus and Josue, and the Canticle of Debora. Suffice it to say that the first is attributed to the time of David or Solomon. (p. 245.) The second contains an old fragment, but the account of the sun standing still belongs to the compiler of the book, who lived after the captivity, (p. 257,) for "the Masoretic scribe, having a taste for portents, took the old words into his stolid gloss" (our present

text of the book) "differently from what they were written." (p. 250.) As to a miracle there was no such thing; nor can a better illustration be given of what Josue said or did, than what "our general Wellington" exclaimed on Waterloo: "I wish that night or Blucher would come to our assistance!" (p. 249.)

Debora's Song is a favourite, because the subject of an Essay read in Cambridge, in October 1848. This is admitted to be an ancient composition. The commentary on it does not offer us any particular ground of remark; but we cannot refrain from quoting the Cantabrigian's estimate of the sister university. He tells us that "those Oxonian sophists violate four times a year ever so many and so great precepts of christianity." (p. 263.)

We have promised to end here. The seventh part indeed consists of Psalms and Canticles thrown together, without any such reason as would have prevented many others from entering into the collection. We have only to remark that Anna's song (1 Reg. or Sam. ii.) is converted into David's canticle on the conquest of Goliath, "in the history of which many fabulous things are mixed up." (p. 309.) And the reader will perhaps pardon us two more short quotations.

The first is: "with the following verses" (of Anna's canticle) "everybody will compare the song of B. Mary in Luke the Evangelist. *Whence this song was derived I know not*; but whoever wrote it followed the Masoretic text, and attributed our hymn to Anna." (p. 310.) This will speak for itself—the *Magnificat* is not genuine!

The second is what follows. The 57th Psalm thus describes David's affliction when hiding in a cavern from Saul: "My life is spent among lions, I lie among flaming fires." The captive Jews probably used these words often to console themselves. "But a scribe of a later age, thinking it right to invent any history of the dangers and deliverances of the Jewish princes under Nebuchodonosor, and Darius, expanded these metaphors of David's, which all the exiles applied to themselves, into portentous narratives, and when relating the false accusations of the Babylonians, took care to make Daniel be let down into a lion's den, and the three children cast into a burning furnace." (p. 306.) Such is the origin of Scripture histories.

After the instances which we have given of Dr. Donaldson's occasional dealing with the New Testament, we

deem it unnecessary to collect other passages, which may show how its authority is shaken by his treatment of the Old. The two indeed are so interwoven, that you cannot separate them. Every weakening of the authority of one is a blow to that of the other. In fact he informs us, that St. Mark's Gospel is mutilated in the end, that there are changes by later hands in the Acts, and in St. John, that St. Luke's gospel is a farrago (we suppose he means no disrespect by the word, though even in Latin it is not a becoming one in such a case.) borrowed from different witnesses, and that St. Matthew has a habit of putting in two people as acting, where the other Evangelists have one. "If this had happened once or twice, one would have been inclined to say that the Evangelist had forgotten, or otherwise erred." He accounts for this peculiarity by a supposed mistake of similar Aramaic letters by the transcriber. (pp. 14-16.)

But what carries the poison of infidelity from the Old to the New Testament, is the doctrine of inspiration as held by the writer. What belief in inspiration can he have, who considers great part of the Bible, except Jashar, to have been a recent compilation of priests pretending to write in the name of Moses, or other ancient authors, and who even believes the book of Jashar itself to have been a collection of poetical effusions that pretended to be prophecies? Accordingly he is very shadowy in his assertion of the inspiration of Scripture, which he tells us to be understood to be God's word "not in a carnal or mechanical way, but because, respect being had to the arguments of the books, it contains, by a certain harmony, enclosed in itself, a signification of the Divine will; because it infolds and involves a revelation consigned *potentialiter*, as the scholastics say, by God Himself." (p. 2.) Then comes a note beginning as follows: "The Anglican Church does not use the word 'inspiration' otherwise than to signify that illumination, with which the Holy Spirit directs or animates (*informat*) the minds of individual Christians."

If this be true, judge ye, who are rulers or teachers in that law. It is not for us to pronounce on such a matter. We enter into the category of those "fautors of ecclesiastical traditions, who choose some contemptible doctors (*doctores nescio quos*) from the primitive age of christianity, who alone, they cry out, are to be followed, when babbling some old wive's fables or other." (p. 32.) Dr. Donaldson



on the other hand exclaims: "I say, and I repeat, that no other method is to be followed in handling the sacred books, than that whereby the interpretation of profane writers has made such progress." (p. 347.) There is a wide gulf between us; but Dr. D. assures us that on *his* side stands the English Establishment. "As to theology," he writes, "it ought to be sufficient to me, who am an Anglican priest and doctor, that no opinion or sentiment in this book helps in any way to impugn our Articles, that I have never overstepped the lawful liberty of interpreting granted by the Bishop, confirmed by the university." (p. 347.)

We have a right to suppose that this is so; and that all his opinions can be harboured safely in the wide, if not deep, anchorage, of the established religion. The book has been long before the world, and no authoritative hand has raised a finger against it. The *Morning Herald*, not the most tuneful of theological organs, which the other day put forth a trumpery forgery as a document issuing from the Archbishop of Paris, attacked Dr. Donaldson sharply, and received the following reply.

"Bury St. Edmund's, May, 16, 1855.

"SIR,—My attention has been directed to a leading article in your paper of this morning, in which you call upon the bishops to do something—I cannot guess what—in regard to a critical treatise on the Old Testament written by me in Latin and published at Berlin last December. I make no comment on the propriety or impropriety of alluding to such matters in a daily newspaper, nor do I wish to ask how far it is consistent with your avowed opinions, as a champion of Protestantism, to invoke the aid of ecclesiastical authority in putting down that liberty of interpretation which it is at once the privilege and the duty of every English clergyman to uphold. But as you have boldly entered on these delicate subjects I think you ought to allow me to tell your readers, that I am prepared to maintain against all gainsayers—Popes and bishops not excepted—the great principle, that, in religion as well as politics, the only true Conservative is he who does not peril his cause by making it responsible for particulars which are not only immaterial, but indefensible. The assumption which you put forward that Christianity must stand or fall with the literal infallibility of the Bible is the main cause of infidelity in these latter days. It has been my object, on the contrary, to show that all that is essential to revealed religion—nay, more—all the positive doctrines of my own Church—may be maintained without an adherence to those groundless prepossessions which every real scholar in England has

long ago renounced and abandoned as untenable. And what I have written in Latin and published in Germany, I shall defend in my own language, and justify to my own countrymen, whenever the proper time shall arrive.

"I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

"J. W. DONALDSON."

This puts the matter fairly to issue. The writer will answer for all his opinions to his own countrymen, when the proper time arrives. This, we presume, would be, when those ecclesiastical superiors to whom appeal has been made, shall summon him to do so. If these do not call him to account, he has a right, after this challenge, to conclude that all his opinions are within the limits of those tolerated, or rather protected—for this silence shields them—within the national religion. If he can conclude this, we have a right to do the same.

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ART. VIII.—*A Memoir of the Reverend Sidney Smith*, by his Daughter, LADY HOLLAND. With a selection from his Letters, edited by Mrs. Austin. 2 vols. London: Longman, 1855.

AS Sidney Smith, who was then a dignitary of the Established Church, was writing one morning at his favourite bay-window, in his comfortable parsonage at Combe Florey, in Somersetshire, a pompous little man in rusty black was ushered into the apartment. "May I ask," says the Canon of St. Paul's, "what procures me the honour of this visit!" "Oh," said the little man, "I am compounding a history of the distinguished families in Somersetshire, and have called to obtain the Smith's arms." "I regret, sir," he replied, "not to be able to contribute to so valuable a work, but the Smiths never had any arms, and have invariably sealed their letters with their thumbs." He loved to repeat the answer of Junot to the old noblesse when boasting of their ancestors: "Ah, ma foi! je n'en sais rien; mais je suis mon ancetre." Writ-

ing to Mrs. Meynell, Feb. 25th, 1831, he uses this lively comparison to express his horror even of those wars and revolutions which are undertaken for the advancement of civilization. "Wild beasts must be killed in the progress of civilization, but thank God that my ancestors,—that is not mine, for I had none, but Mr. Meynell's ancestors,—did this some centuries ago." And in 1826, writing to his wife from Paris, he says: "I have bought a coat of arms on a seal for six shillings, which will hereafter be the coat of arms of the family; this letter is sealed with it." On his carriage—when he got one—he put the motto, *Faber meæ fortunæ*, by which he declared to all the world that he owed nothing for lineage, and that he was the architect of his own fortune.

Yet Sidney Smith could not say with poor Burns, that his

"Ignoble blood  
Had flowed through scoundrels ever since the flood,"

for he was the son of a gentleman of moderate fortune. His father, Mr. Robert Smith, was very clever, but odd by nature, and still more odd by design. He married at an early age a Miss Olier, the younger daughter of a French emigrant, whose family was dependent for support on a school for young ladies, which was kept by his elder daughter in Bloomsbury Square. At the church door Mr. Smith gave his beautiful bride in charge to her mother, and immediately set off to America. After wandering over the world for many years he returned, recovered his wife, and spent the remainder of a long life in diminishing his fortune, by buying, altering, spoiling, and then selling about nineteen different places in England, till, in his old age, he at last settled at Bishop's Lydiard, in Somersetshire, where he died. He was the father of five children, no two of which, it is to be presumed, saw the light in the same county. In 1771 Robert Smith resided at Woodford, in Essex, and in that year his second son, Sidney, was born. The child inherited a little of his father's address, and all the sprightliness of his mother. Sidney once upon a time met a gentleman in a coach who told him of a very *odd* clever fellow called Sidney Smith, who then resided at Bristol. He instantly and very properly informed his companion that he was Sidney Smith, because, he says, my companions might have proceeded to

inform me that I had murdered my grandmother, and this I would have been obliged to have resented. Had he been less witty, many things which he did and wrote and said would have acquired for him the character of an odd fellow, but as it was, they became the accessories of his wit. No other man could have farmed by means of a speaking trumpet, or driven about the country with a sieve of corn attached to the point of the shaft of a vehicle, which had so often been renewed by village carpenters, tinkers, and tailors, that he called it the *immortal*—the object of the said sieve being to delude a lazy horse into the idea that if he were to trot he would overtake a feed of oats—without incurring the imminent risk of being shut up for life in a lunatic asylum. But what would have been insanity in another man, Sidney's comments made irresistibly ludicrous, at the same time that they effectually secured himself from being regarded as a buffoon. On the contrary, you learned to admire him by the light of his genius, which shone upon everything which he came in contact. Nil teligit quod non ornarit. He called this sluggish horse Calamity, and the sieve his patent Tantalus. He used to ride as well as drive Tantalus, and we must, as an illustration of what we have been saying, allow himself to tell how his equestrianism came to an end.

“‘I used,’ he says, ‘to consider a fall from a horse dangerous, but much experience has convinced me to the contrary. I have had six falls in two years, and just behaved like the three per cents when they fall. I got up again, and am not a bit the worse for it, any more than the stock in question.’ Nevertheless, he adds, ‘I left off riding, for the good of my parish and the peace of my family; for, somehow or other, my horse and I had a habit of parting company. On one occasion I found myself suddenly prostrate in the streets of York, much to the delight of the Dissenters. Another time my horse Calamity flung me over his head into a neighbouring parish, as if I had been a shuttlecock, and I felt grateful it was not into a neighbouring planet; but as no harm came of it, I might have persevered perhaps if, on a certain day a quaker tailor from a neighbouring village, to which I had said I was going to ride, had not taken it into his head to call soon after my departure, and request to see Mrs. Sidney. She instantly, conceiving I was thrown, if not killed, rushed down to the man exclaiming, ‘Where is he? where is your master? is he hurt? The astonished and quaking snip stood silent from surprise. Still more agitated by his silence, she exclaimed, ‘Is he hurt? I insist upon knowing the

worst.' 'Why, please ma'am, it is only thy little bill, a very small account, I wanted to settle,' replied he in much surprise."

After this he gave up riding, notwithstanding his conviction that he knew one man who was a worse rider than himself, and who was at least one fall ahead of him.

Sidney Smith, and his elder brother, Robert, inherited from their mother, along with other estimable things, a considerable portion of her beauty. Robert was very intimate with Tallyrand, when he was living as an emigrant in this country. On one occasion the conversation turned upon the beauty often transmitted by parents to their children. Young Smith spoke with enthusiasm of his mother's beauty, on which Tallyrand exclaimed with a shrug, "*Ah! mon ami, c'était donc apparemment monsieur votre père qui vetait pas bien.*"

Their mother describes the young Smiths as neglecting games, seizing every hour of leisure for study, and often lying on the floor stretched over their books, discussing with loud voice and most vehement gesticulation, every point that arose, often subjects above their years, and arguing upon them with a warmth and fierceness as if life and death hung upon the issue. At the age of six Sidney was sent to school to Southampton, and from thence with his youngest brother, Courtenay, to the Foundation at Winchester. There they suffered "many years of misery and positive starvation; there never was enough provided, even of the coarsest food, for the whole school, and the little boys were of course left to fare as they could." Even in his old age he used to shudder at the recollection of Winchester, nor could he ever speak but with horror of the whole system, which was one of abuse, neglect, and vice. But in spite of hunger and neglect, he rose to be captain of the school, and the two brothers received a flattering, though involuntary, compliment from their schoolfellows, who signed a round-robin and sent it to Dr. Warton, the Warden, "refusing to try for the college prizes if the Smiths were allowed to contend for them any more, as they always gained them." He used to say, "I believe, whilst a boy at school, I made above ten thousand Latin verses, and no man in his senses would dream in after life of ever making another." But although he did not make any more verses he preserved his knowledge of the language by reading some Latin

book, and translating English into Latin every day of his life. From this picture of Winchester School it would seem that the original of Dotheboys Hall might have been found in other parts of England as well as in Yorkshire.

As Captain of Winchester Sidney Smith became entitled to a Scholarship and afterwards to a Fellowship in New College, Oxford. Before going there his father sent him to Mount Villiers, in Normandy, where he remained *en pension* for six months, to perfect his knowledge of French, which he spoke ever afterwards with great fluency, although he did not write it correctly. As the fierceness of the French Revolution was then at its height, he thought it necessary to enroll himself in one of the Jacobin clubs of the town, in which he was entered as "Le Citoyen Smit, Membre Affilié au Club des Jacobins de Mont Villiers." And, in fact, had it not been for his address and citizenship he would have been hung on a lantern-post along with his brother and Captain Drinkwater, who in spite of his remonstrances had drawn the gendarme upon them, by commencing to sketch the works at Cherbourg.

New College, which he entered on his return from France, was renowned for nothing but the quantity of port wine consumed by the Fellows. Sidney obtained his fellowship as soon as possible, but as this was worth only £100. per annum, and as his father never afterwards gave him a penny until his death, he had to choose between a gaol and abstinence from port wine. Sidney choose the latter alternative, and to his abstinence he owed perhaps his health and moral conduct, as well as his liberty. Indeed, with his slender income, he not only kept clear of debts himself, but even paid £30. which his brother Courtenay owed at Winchester. Had Sidney, with his fascinating powers, become a member of a drinking club in College, there can be little doubt but that he would have been ruined.

On leaving college it became necessary to choose a profession. His own inclination was strongly in favour of the Bar, but his father urged him so earnestly to enter the Church, that he felt it his duty to obey, and he became a curate in a small village in the midst of Salisbury Plain. He describes himself as the first pauper in the hamlet, which consisted of a few scattered cottages and farms. Once a week a butcher's cart came over from Salisbury,



on which occasions only could he obtain any flesh meat, and he often dined on a mess of potatoes, sprinkled with a little catsup. He was too poor to buy books, or to keep a horse, and his only resource was to discuss the breed of his dogs with the squire, or to cross over those interminable plains by that aboriginal species of *tandem*, which consists in constantly placing one leg before the other. In such circumstances we would not pity a Catholic priest, because he ought to have abundant occupation in his constant communication with the spiritual world, in his association with the Saviour Himself, and through Him with all that is holiest and highest in heaven. He had been trained year after year to shut out the world entirely at appointed seasons, and for weeks to converse with no one but his God. Who has experienced this great blessing without feeling sad and wearied, by being obliged again to descend to the heartless intercourse of the world, and the frivolous society of men? But poor Sidney knew nothing of all this, because he had never been taught it; and it is a most grievous mistake to imagine that the most sublime of all sciences—the only one really worth possessing—the science of serving God, and of living with Him, requires no instruction. This grievous and pernicious error is assumed as a first principle in all Protestant universities. Sidney Smith was not only endowed with genius,—his mind was not only stored with knowledge, and his intellect enlightened by science, but he was moreover, an upright and an honest man. His love of truth and of justice was paramount; for these he remained poor, and sacrificed his hopes—or rather the certainty—of preferment. In generosity, in goodness of heart, in benevolence, he had rarely a superior. But of the supernatural world he had no knowledge or conception whatever. He was a firm believer in the Gospel, and in the doctrines of his Church, but he read and interpreted it by the light of reason alone. He had a sincere and generous tone of morality, but with him moral rectitude meant nothing more than common sense. Of mortification, self-denial, abandonment of all things as utterly worthless, or worse, in order to give the whole heart to God, and of all the thousand higher and holier aspirations of the spiritualized christian he knew nothing. He confounded them all with the cant of the Methodist, or the fanaticism of the Irvingite, and he consequently despised them. "It must," says

Mrs. Austin, "be constantly borne in mind, that Mr. Sidney Smith did not regard Christianity as an *ascetic* religion, but as a religion of peace, and joy, and *comfort*."\* The comfort is here opposed to asceticism, and is therefore applied, not to spiritual, but to corporal ease.

What a place must Salisbury Plain have been, for a man endowed with extraordinary wit and genius, with those bewitching arts which fitted him to adorn the highest and most exquisite society, and who, moreover, believed that he had been placed in this world, not only to be just and benevolent, and tolerant, but moreover to eat good dinners, to enjoy good company, and to be as joyous as possible,—to be condemned to live amongst the ignorant bores of Salisbury Plain! "When first," he says, "I went into the church, I had a curacy in the midst of Salisbury Plain; the parish was Netherhaven, near Amesbury. The Squire of the parish, Mr. Beact, took a fancy to me, and after I had served it two years, he engaged me as tutor to his eldest son, and it was arranged that I and his son should proceed to the University of Weimar, in Saxony. We set out, but before reaching our destination, Germany was disturbed by war, and, in stress of politics, we put into Edinburgh, where I remained five years." It was in the year 1797 that Mr. Smith arrived in Edinburgh, and he quickly formed acquaintance with Jeffrey, Horner, Playfair, Walter Scott, Dugald Stewart, Brougham, Brown, Allison, and many other distinguished men, who at that time resided in the Scottish capital.

Though the style of no two men who wrote the same language could be more dissimilar than that of Sidney Smith and of Samuel Johnson, yet there are many points of great similarity between them. They were both fat men, both abstemious in the use of wine,—both endowed with powers of reasoning and of witty repartee far beyond any of their contemporaries. It is also not a little singular that the most intimate friends of each of them were Scotchmen, and that each of them had an irresistible propensity to ridicule the foibles and peculiarities of the Scottish people.

"'It requires,' Sydney used to say, 'a surgical operation to get a joke well into a Scotch understanding. Their only idea of wit, or

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\* Preface, vol. ii. p. 12.

rather that inferior variety of this electric talent which prevails occasionally in the North, and which, under the name of WUT, is so infinitely distressing to people of good taste, is laughing immoderately at stated intervals. They are so imbued with metaphysics that they even make love metaphysically; I overheard a young lady of my acquaintance, at a dance in Edinburgh, exclaim in a sudden pause of the music, 'What you say, my Lord, is very true of love in the *abstract*, but—' here the fiddlers began fiddling furiously, and the rest was lost. You find they usually arrange their dishes at dinner by the points of the compass; 'Sandy, put that gigot of mutton, to the south, and move the singet sheep's head a wee bit to the nor-wast.' If you knock at the door, you hear a shrill female from the fifth flat shriek out, 'Wha's chapping at the door?' which is presently opened by a lassie with short petticoats, bare legs and thick ankles. My Scotch servants bargained they were not to have salmon more than three times a week, and always pulled off their stockings in spite of my repeated objurgations, the moment my back was turned. Their temper stands anything but an attack on their climate; even the enlightened mind of Jeffrey cannot shake off the illusion that myrtles flourish at Craig Crook. In vain I have represented to him that they are of the genus *carduus*, and pointed out their prickly peculiarities. In vain I have reminded him that I have seen hackney-coaches drawn by four horses in the winter, on account of the snow; that I have rescued a man blown flat against my door by the violence of the winds, and black in the face, that even the experienced Scotch fowls did not venture to cross the streets, but sidled along, tails aloft, without venturing to encounter the gale. Jeffrey sticks to his myrtle illusions, and treats my attacks with as much contempt as if I had been a wild visionary, who had never breathed his cellar air, nor lived and suffered under the rigour of his climate, nor spent five years in discussing metaphysics and medicine in that garret of the earth.—that knuckle-end of England—that land of Calvin, oat-cakes, and sulphur.' 'Never,' he exclaims, 'shall I forget the happy days passed in Scotland, amidst odious smells, barbarous sounds, bad suppers, excellent hearts, and most enlightened and cultivated understandings.'

"Why," he asks Jeffrey, "so modest as to stand for a place in Scotland? Who humbled you into a notion that you were sufficiently destitute of probity, originality and talents, to enjoy a chance of success?" He tells Jeffrey himself "if you could be alarmed into the semblance of modesty, you would charm everybody; but remember my joke against you;—'D——n the solar system! had light—planets too distant—pestered with comets—feeble contrivance;—could make a better with great ease.'" Again he inquires whether there is a man in

Edinburgh in whose house a young Englishman could be safely deposited, without peril of marrying a Scotch girl with a fortune of 1s. 6d. sterling. To Lady Holland\* he sends two-brace of grouse—"curious because killed by a Scotch metaphysician; in other and better language, they are mere ideas, shot by other ideas, out of a pure intellectual notion, called a gun. "I found," he adds, "a great number of philosophers in Edinburgh in a high state of obscurity and metaphysics...Horner is so extremely serious about the human race, that I am forced to compose my face half a street off before I meet him." "When you talk," he says to Jeffrey, "of the clamours of Edinburgh, I will not remind you of a tempest in a pot, for that would be to do injustice to the metropolis of the North; but a hurricane in a horse-pond is a simile useful for conveying my meaning, and not unjust to the venerable city of Edinburgh." To Lady Holland he writes, "I hear you have got a good tutor for Henry which I am exceedingly glad of...You are aware that it is necessary to fumigate Scotch tutors: they are excellent men, but require this little preliminary caution...I hope you have read, or are reading, Mr. Stewart's book, and are far gone in the philosophy of mind, a science as he repeatedly tells us, still in its infancy; I propose, myself, to wait till it comes to years of discretion..Lord Holland is quite right to get a stock of eatable sheep; but such sheep are not exclusively the product of Scotland, but of every half-starved, ill-cultivated country; and are only emphatically called Scotch, to signify ill-fed; as one says Roman to signify brave." He tells Jeffrey that "the most delicate and sensitive turpitude is always to be met with in Scotland," and that "he (Jeffrey) over-praises all Scotch books and writers." On hearing that the people of Scotland were about to erect statues to two native professors, he wrote to his friend: "People in England have a very bad habit of laughing at Scotch economy; and the supposition was that the statue was to be Januform, with

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\* The Lady Holland mentioned in the text is not Sidney Smith's daughter—the wife of Sir Henry Holland—but the lady of the late Lord Holland, and the mistress of Holland House, where Mr. Smith spent many of his happiest, and found some of his earliest and fastest friends.

Playfair's face on one side, and Stewart's on the other; and it certainly would effect a reduction in price, though it would be somewhat singular." Having been informed that the affair about the statues was a joke, he says: "I am glad to hear that the intention of raising a statue to Playfair and Stewart is now reported to have been only a joke. This is *wut*, not wit; by way of pleasantry, the oddest conceit I have heard of; but you gentlemen from the North are, you know, a little singular in your conceptions of the *sipid*." "The Commissioner," he writes to Earl Grey, "will have hard work with the Scotch Atheists; they are said to be numerous this season, and in great force from the irregular supply of rain." "When I lived in Scotland," he tells Lady Mary Bennett, "very few maids had shoes and stockings, but plodded about the house with feet as big as a family Bible, and legs as large as portmanteaus." "The curses of Glasgow," he informs Sir George Philips, "are itch, punch, cotton and metaphysics." "It is in vain," he says, "that I study the subject of the Scotch Church. I have heard it ten times over from Murray and twenty times from Jeffrey, and I have not the smallest conception what it is about. I know it has something to do with oatmeal, but beyond that I am in utter darkness." When the queen first visited the land of Cakes; he writes to one of his Scotch friends to know if she showed any turn for metaphysics. "The Scotch newspapers," he says, "pretend that even the weather was fine, but on the subject of the weather no Scotchman is to be believed, even on his oath...Remember me very kindly to the maximus minimus (Jeffrey) and to the Scotch Church. I have urged my friend, the Bishop of Durham, to prepare kettles of soup for the seceders, who will probably be wandering in troops over our northern counties."

We dare not venture to extract any more of the "winged arrows," with which he tickled the land of oat-cake and Calvinism, but there can be no doubt that in this, as in other matters, he made his wit the medium by which he conveyed his genuine sentiments; for never was there a man who could have more truly taken for his motto: "Quid netat ridentem dicere verum." But his distrust of the Scotch generally, made him admire and love more profoundly those honourable men, who amidst narrow-minded bigotry and general corruption, had imbibed

liberal and just principles, and honestly followed them, though for so doing they had the agreeable prospect of being obliged to spend their lives on a thirteenth story, from which if they descended, their small allowance of oatmeal would scarcely give them strength enough to get back again. "Jeffrey," he tells Lady Holland, Nov. 6th, 1827, "has been here with his adjectives, who always travel with him. His throat is giving way; so much wine goes down it, so many million words leap over it, how can it rest? Pray make him a judge; he is a truly great man, and is very heedless of his own interests. I lectured him on his romantic folly of wishing his friends to be preferred before himself, and succeeded, I think, in making him a little more selfish." "How," he inquires of Mr. (afterwards Lord) Murray, "is Jeffrey's throat?"

"That throat so vexed by cackle and by cup,  
Where wine descends and endless words come up;  
Much injured organ! constant is thy toil,  
Spits turn to do thee harm and coppers boil:  
Passion and punch and toasted cheese and paste,  
And all that's said and swallowed lay thee waste!"

Again he writes to the Countess Grey (Sept. 6th, 1829): "The only visitor I have here is Mr. Jeffrey, who, I believe (though he richly deserves that good fortune) is scarcely known to Lord Grey and yourself. A man of rare talent and unbending integrity, who has been honest even in Scotland; which is as if he were temperate and active at Capua." "I cannot say," he tells Murray (Dec. 14th, 1829), "the pleasure it gives me that my old and dear friend Jeffrey is in the road to preferment. I shall not be easy till he is fairly on the Bench. His robes, God knows, will cost him little; one buck rabbit will clothe him to the heels."

It is wonderful what fertility of imagination he displays even on this one small subject—Jeffrey's diminutive stature. And yet he never repeats a stale joke; what he says is always new and amusing. When Jeffrey tells him that he has sent his portrait in a small parcel which a gentleman has kindly taken in his pocket, Sidney imagines that it must be as large as life; and when he invites Jeffrey to pay him a visit he asks, "When are we to see you (a thing always difficult to do)." "Pray tell me," he writes to Mr. Murray in 1830, "how you are all going on



in Scotland. Is Jeffrey much damaged? They say he fought like a lion, and would have been killed had he been more visible; but that several people struck at him who could see nothing, and so battered infinite space instead of the Advocate." "Magnitude, to you my dear Jeffrey," he tells his friend, "must be such an intoxicating idea, that I have no doubt you would rather be gigantic in your errors, than immense in no respect whatever; however, comfort yourself that your good qualities are far beyond the common size." Sidney loved and admired his little friend with his whole heart, and he richly deserved both. One time he arrived at Mr. Smith's house in Yorkshire, where he found no person but the children, who were leading a young donkey round the garden with a pocket-handkerchief for a bridle. With his usual love for the society of children, Jeffrey joined in the sport, and to their infinite delight mounted the donkey. He was proceeding in triumph," says Lady Holland, "amidst our shouts of laughter, when my father and mother, in company, I believe, with Mr. Horner and Mr. Murray, returned from their walk and beheld this scene from the garden door. Though years and years have passed away since, I still remember the joy-inspiring laughter that burst from my father at this unexpected sight, as, advancing towards his old friend, with a face beaming with delight and with extended hands, he broke forth in the following impromptu:—

"Witty as Horatius Flaccus,  
As great a Jacobin as Gracchus;  
Short, though not as fat as Bacchus,  
Riding on a little Jackass!"—Vol. i. p. 153.

Regarding diminutiveness of stature he had even jokes to throw away on Lord John Russell. During the height of the Reform agitation, such of the people as saw Lord John, expressed great dissatisfaction on discovering that their champion was such a pigmy. But Sidney quickly reconciled them to him, and even brought tears into their eyes, by declaring that he had been twice as big, but that he had lost half his magnitude in consequence of the rejection of the Reform Bill by the House of Lords. He writes to Lady Holland, October 15th, 1830, Lord John Russell comes here to-day. His corporeal antipart, Lord

N—, is here. Heaven send he may not swallow John. There are, however, stomach-pumps in case of accident."

Every man has a standard of his own for measuring his neighbour. Some measure him by his moral or intellectual qualities, some by the cut of his coat, some by his capacity for the consumption of solids or liquids, some by the length of his nose, and some, of whom Sidney Smith formed one, by his corporeal magnitude. Thus, on being appointed Canon of Bristol, in 1828, he describes some of his clerical confreres to the same lady as follows: "The little dean I have not seen; he is as small as the bishop, they say. It is supposed that one of these ecclesiastics, elevated upon the shoulders of the other, would fall short of the Archbishop of Canterbury's wig. The Archbishop of York is forced to go down on his knees to converse with the Bishop of Bristol, just as an elephant kneels to receive its rider." "Jeffrey's legs," he writes to Lord Murray, "have as little to support as any legs in the island; I cannot see why they should be out of order."

One principle Sidney Smith rigidly adhered to, which is as rare as it is commendable in a professed wit. He never hurt any man's feelings for the sake of a joke. "One speech," he says, "I remember of Lord Dudley's gratified me much. When I took leave of him, on quitting London to go into Yorkshire, he said to me, 'You have been laughing at me constantly, Sidney, for the last seven years, and yet in all that time you never said a single thing to me that I wished unsaid.'" (vol. i. p. 365.) Lord Dudley must indeed have been a tempting subject for Sidney's mirth. One day the lord met the parson in the street, and said, "dine with me to-day, and I will get Sidney Smith to meet you." Sidney admitted the temptation, but said he was engaged to meet that gentleman elsewhere. On another occasion when they met, he put his arm through Sidney's, muttering to himself at the same time, "I dont mind walking with him a little way; I'll walk with him as far as the end of the street." As a gentleman of their acquaintance passed them, he was heard again to soliloquise; "That is the villain who helped me yesterday to asparagus, and gave me no toast." He once nearly upset Sidney's gravity in the pulpit, by crying out in the middle of the sermon, "hear, hear, hear," being

under the impression for the moment that he was in the House of Commons.

Sidney possessed in his matchless powers of wit and of ridicule, strong and dangerous weapons, and it was his proud boast that he never employed them except to promote the liberty and happiness of his fellow men. In sending a lady a list of all his contributions to the "*Edinburgh Review*," he says, he defies her to show him one line in them all which is opposed to these great objects. As we have on a former occasion\* extracted his account of the origin and early progress of the "*Edinburgh Review*," from the preface to his collected essays, we shall not now say anything on this subject. He edited the two first numbers, and continued to be one of its ablest contributors for more than twenty years, during all which time he advocated the principles of toleration and liberty, although he was fully persuaded that this line of conduct would keep both himself and his family in poverty. King George III., on reading some of his writings said, "He is a very clever fellow, but will never be a bishop." "Oh, Mr. Smith," said Lord Stowel to him, "you would have been in a different situation, and a far richer man, if you would have belonged to us." But Sidney never wavered in his course,—never swerved from the paths of truth and justice. "It pleases me," he writes to Jeffrey, April 2nd, 1819, "sometimes to think of the very great number of important subjects which have been discussed in so enlightened a manner in the '*Edinburgh Review*.' It is a sort of magazine of liberal sentiments, which I hope will be read by the rising generation, and infuse into them a proper contempt for their parent's stupid and unphilosophical prejudices." And again in 1825: "It must be to you as it is to me, a real pleasure to see so many improvements taking place, and so many abuses destroyed,—abuses upon which you with cannon and mortars, and I with sparrow-shot, have been playing for so many years."

Nor was it only in the "*Review*" that he devoted himself to the cause of freedom and toleration. In 1807 he wrote the famous letters of Peter Plymley, in favour of the Catholics, which contributed in no small degree to prepare the minds of the English people for the great act

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\* Article on Lord Jeffrey's Life, *Dublin Review*, xxxii. 464 and foll.  
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of 1829. Whilst he was rector of Foston, in Yorkshire, a meeting of the clergy of the East Riding was called, in the year 1825, to petition parliament against the emancipation of the Catholics. He attended the meeting, and though he had but one supporter he drew up a petition, and delivered a powerful speech in favour of emancipation.

His domestic virtues, his generosity, his kindness of heart, shine forth conspicuously in every page of his correspondence. Like all poor parsons, he of course married at an early age. This event occurred during his residence in the Scotch capital, but the lady was not a Scotch girl with a fortune of 1s. 6d., but an Englishwoman, called Pybus, who had some little fortune. Sidney's own fortune at this time consisted of six small silver teaspoons, which after his marriage he flung into his wife's lap, saying, "There, Kate, you lucky girl, I give you all my fortune." He insisted that every penny of his wife's fortune should be settled on herself, and it would not have been easy for the newly married pair to have commenced housekeeping, or perhaps even to have paid the coach hire to Edinburgh, had not Mrs. Pybus bestowed a necklace on her daughter which she sold for £500. At the end of their Edinburgh residence Mr. Beach presented Sidney with a thousand pounds for the care of his son which he invested in the funds, with the exception of £100, that he lent to a widow lady and her four daughters, whose pecuniary difficulties he had accidentally discovered. Even his daughters never heard of this act of generosity until after his death. There are few men with a family, and without any prospect of wealth, who are capable of such deeds. About the same time he subscribed £40. towards the outfit of a poor, but clever young man, who had obtained an appointment in India.

In 1803 he came to London, friendless and obnoxious to government. He preached occasionally to volunteer regiments, as they came into the city, but obtained no permanent employment for two years, at the expiration of which period he gladly accepted of the preachiership of the Foundling Hospital, at £50. per annum. He was offered by the proprietor a chapel, then occupied by a sect of dissenters, calling themselves the New Jerusalem, provided he could obtain the necessary license from the rector of the parish, who professed to be his friend. He did not obtain

the license however, because the prudent rector was afraid that his own orthodox hearers, as well as the dissenters, might be attracted by the eloquent young preacher. But although he was not advancing in the Church, he was loved and respected in society, and was making many warm and sincere friends, amongst whom Lord and Lady Holland deserve to be specially mentioned. His preaching also at the Foundling Hospital gained him considerable reputation, for a Mr. Bowerbank induced him to preach in the morning in a deserted chapel of his, for which he could not get a purchaser. Sydney accepted the offer, and in a few weeks not a seat was to be had; of course the proprietor gave up all idea of selling, and the young and witty parson kept the chapel well filled, until he left London in 1809. His reputation was also greatly increased by a course of lectures which he delivered, on Moral Philosophy. The sensation created by these lectures was tremendous. "All Albemarle-street," says an eye-witness, "and part of Grafton-street, were rendered impassable by the concourse of carriages assembled there during the time of their delivery. There was not sufficient room for the persons assembling; the lobbies were filled, and the doors into them from the lecture-room were left open; the steps leading into its area were all occupied; many persons to obtain seats came an hour before the time. The next year galleries were erected, which had never before been required, and the success was complete. He continued to lecture there for three consecutive years." Horner says the success was beyond all possible conjecture, that a seat was not to be procured even an hour before the time, and that "nobody else could have executed such an undertaking with the least chance of success. For who could make such a mixture of odd paradox, quaint fun, manly sense, liberal opinions, and striking language?" Sir Robert Peel (we can no more speak of the *late* Sir R. Peel than of the late Napoleon Buonaparte,) says, "I was present at the lectures forty years ago, and was a very young man at the time; but I have not forgotten the effect which was given to the speech of Logan, the Indian Chief, by the tone and spirit in which it was recited."

These lectures have been published by Mrs. Smith since the death of the author, in spite of the remonstrances even of Jeffrey. She has moreover the merit of having saved them from the flames when Sidney himself had con-

demned them to destruction. In 1843, he wrote to Dr. Whewell; "My lectures are gone to the dogs and are utterly forgotten. I knew nothing of moral philosophy, but I was thoroughly aware that I wanted £200. to furnish my house. The success however was prodigious; all Albemarle street blocked up with carriages, and such an uproar, as I never remember to have been excited by any other literary imposture. Every week I had a new theory about conceptions and perceptions; and supported by a natural manner, a torrent of words, and an impudence scarcely credible in this prudent age. Still, in justice to myself, I must say there were some good things in them. But good and bad are all gone." He had indeed the rare modesty of undervaluing his own writings. In this instance, however, the partial opinion of affection has proved to be more correct than that of either the author or the critic; for the publication of the lectures has procured scarcely less posthumous fame for their author, than their delivery obtained for him whilst he was living. Only three days before he was seized with the fatal illness which caused his death, Jeffrey wrote his recantation to Mrs. Smith. "I am now satisfied," he says, "that in what I then said I did great and grievous injustice to the merit of these lectures, and was quite wrong in dissuading their publication, or concluding they would add nothing to the reputation of the author; on the contrary, my firm impression is, that, with few exceptions, they will do him as much credit as anything he ever wrote, and produce on the whole a stronger impression of the force and vivacity of his intellect, as well as a truer and more engaging view of his character, than most of what the world has yet seen of his writings." For these lectures, after the delivery of the first series, he was allowed to name his own terms, and we need scarcely say that the proceeds were very acceptable to him, for he was still a poor man and wanted his house well furnished. His favourite maxim was: Make home comfortable, avoid shame, but do not seek glory,—nothing so expensive as glory."

He gave a pleasant little supper party each week at which there was both fun and feasting. On one of these occasions Sir James Mackintosh brought with him a raw Scotch cousin, an ensign in a Highland regiment.

"On hearing the name of his host he suddenly turned round,



and, nudging Sir James said in an audible whisper, 'Is that the great Sir Sidney?' 'Yes, yes,' said Sir James, and giving his host the hint, he assumed the military character, performed the part of the hero of Acre to perfection, fought all his battles over again, and showed how he had charged the Turks, (?) to the infinite delight of the young Scotchman, who was quite enchanted with the kindness of the great Sir Sudney, as he called him, and to the absolute torture of the other guests who were bursting with laughter. At last after an evening of the most inimitable acting on the part of Sidney and Sir James, nothing would serve the young Highlander but setting off at twelve o'clock at night, to fetch the piper of his regiment to pipe to the great Sir Sudney, who said he never heard the bagpipes; upon which the whole party broke up, for Sir James said his Scotch cousin would infallibly cut his throat if he discovered his mistake."—Vol. i. pp. 89. 90.

In 1806 the Whigs got what might be called a glimpse of power, and through the exertions of his friends at Holland House, Sidney was appointed by the Lord Chancellor Erskine, to the living of Foston-le-Clay in Yorkshire, to which place in consequence of the bill requiring residence, he was obliged to remove in 1809, and what was worse, he was forced to build a parsonage which cost him £4000. Up to this time there had not been a resident minister in the parish for a century and a half. It was here he drove by means of a sieve and farmed by trumpet, and did everything in a new and extraordinary manner. His parishioners were so unaccustomed to the sights of civilised life, that they were astonished to behold a gentleman from London in a superfine coat and a four-wheeled carriage. On his first arrival he held a long conversation with the clerk of the parish, who at length striking his stick on the ground, said, "Muster Smith, it often strikes moy moind, that people as comes frae London is such *fools*, but you, I see, are no fool."

He had now a tolerably large family about him, and sufficient, though not abundant, means of support, for during one dear season they were obliged to subsist on their own damaged wheat, and his daughter speaks feelingly of the comfort she felt in returning to baker's bread. But still it was probably here he practically experienced, that "happiness is oftener found among little children and home firesides, and in country houses than anywhere else." He could even turn a mishap into a source of enjoyment, not

only for the moment, but for many a year afterwards. It is thus he describes the failure of a country dinner:—

“Did you ever dine out in the country? What misery human beings inflict on each other under the name of pleasure! We went to dine yesterday with Mr. ———, a neighbouring clergyman, a haunch of venison being the stimulus to the invitation. We set out at five o'clock, drove in a boiling sun on dusty roads three miles in our best gowns, found squire and parsons assembled in a small hot room, the whole house redolent of frying; talked, as is our want, of roads, weather, and turnips; that done, began to grow hungry, then serious, then impatient. At last a stripling, evidently caught up for the occasion, opened the door and beckoned our host out of the room. After some moments of awful suspense, he returned to us with a face of much distress, saying, the woman assistant in the kitchen had mistaken the soup for dirty water, and had thrown it away, so we must do without it; we all agreed it was perhaps as well we should, under the circumstances. At last to our joy, dinner was announced; but oh, ye gods! as we entered the diningroom what a gale met our nose! the venison was high, the venison was uneatable, and was obliged to follow the soup with all speed. Dinner proceeded, but our spirits flagged under these accumulated misfortunes: there was an ominous pause between the first and second course; we looked each other in the face—what new disaster awaited us? the pause became fearful. At last the door burst open, and the boy rushed in, calling out aloud, ‘Please, Sir, has Betty any right to leather!’ What human gravity could stand this? we roared with laughter; all took part against Betty, obtained the second course with much difficulty, bored each other the usual time, ordered our carriages, expecting our post boys to be drunk, and were grateful to Providence for not permitting them to deposit us in a wet ditch. So much for dinners in the country!”

The memory of one such dinner is worth more than all the Lord Mayor’s feasts which have delighted the palates of gourmands since the days of Whittington.

Shortly after he came to Foston, Mr. Smith became a magistrate, formed an acquaintance with the neighbouring squire, who actually discovered that he had made a joke, and laughed himself almost into convulsions; and with his lady who was as stiff and straight as if she had just walked out of the ark, or were the wife of Henoah. In his magisterial capacity he kept a private gallows, and by means of it made great way in reforming juvenile offenders. The dogs were the only animals which utterly defied his authority; he could neither get a congregation of them

together to preach to, nor terrify individual culprits by the sight of his gallows."

"Each farmer," as he told the story at Lord Spencer's house in London, "kept a huge mastiff dog, ranging at large, and ready to make his morning meal on clergy or laity, as best suited his particular taste; I never could approach a cottage in pursuit of my calling, but I rushed into the mouth of one of these shaggy monsters. I scolded, preached, and prayed without avail; so I determined to try what fear for their pockets might do. Forthwith appeared in the county papers a minute account of a trial of a farmer, at the Northampton Sessions, for keeping dogs unconfined; where the said farmer was not only fined five pounds and reprimanded by the magistrates, but sentenced to three months imprisonment. The effect was wonderful, and the reign of cerberus ceased in the land. 'That accounts,' said Lord Spencer, 'for what has puzzled me and Althorp for many years. We never failed to attend the Sessions at Northampton, and we never could find out how we had missed this remarkable dog case.'"

"No," he said, "I don't like dogs; I always expect them to go mad. A lady asked me once for a motto for her dog Spot. I proposed, 'Out damned Spot!' but she did not think it sentimental enough. You remember the story of the French Marquise, who, when her pet lapdog bit a piece out of her footman's leg, exclaimed, 'Ah, poor little beast! I hope it won't make him sick.' I called one day on Mrs. — and her lap-dog flew at my leg and bit it. After pitying her dog like the French Marquise, she did all she could to comfort me, by assuring me the dog was a dissenter, and hated the Church, and was brought up in a Tory family. But whether the bite came from madness or Dissent, I knew myself too well to neglect it, and went on the instant to a surgeon and had it cut out, making a mem. on the way to enter that house no more." Of course he kept his own dogs chained. A young lady seeing this at Combe Florey, his country residence, exclaimed, "Oh, why do you chain up that fine Newfoundland dog, Mr. Smith?" "Because it has a passion for breakfasting on parish boys." "Parish boys!" she exclaimed, "does he really eat boys, Mr. Smith?" "Yes, he devours them buttons and all." Her face of horror made him almost die of laughing. Nothing amused him more than this utter want of the perception of a joke which exists in some minds. A lady who visited him one day spoke of the

oppressive heat. "Heat, Ma'am!" he said; "it was so dreadful here that I found there was nothing left for it but to take off my flesh and sit in my bones." "Take off your flesh and sit in your bones, Sir! Oh, Mr. Smith! how could you do that?" she exclaimed with the utmost gravity. "Nothing more easy, Ma'am; come and see next time." But she considered it such an unorthodox proceeding that she ordered her carriage.

There could scarcely be a more open-minded man than Sidney Smith. "You will," he says, "find a Scotchman always say what is undermost: I, on the contrary, say everything that comes uppermost." Such a man was sure to be loved by his poor parishioners, especially when he united to his open disposition great kindness and benevolence. He not only cast aside all cold formality in his intercourse with them, but carried his freedom from conventional restraint even into the pulpit.

"A clergyman," he says, "clings to his velvet cushion with either hand, keeps his eye riveted upon his book, and pinions his body and soul into the same attitude of limb and thought, for fear of being called theatrical. The most intrepid veteran of us all does no more than wipe his face with his cambric sudarium; if, by mischance his hand slip from its orthodox gripe of the velvet, he draws it back as from liquid brimstone. Is it wonder, then, that every semi-delirious sectary who pours forth his animated nonsense with the genuine look and voice of passion should gesticulate away the congregation of the most profound and learned divine of the Established Church, and in two Sundays preach him bare to the very sexton! Why are we natural everywhere but in the pulpit? No man expresses warm and animated feelings anywhere else, with his mouth alone, but with his whole body; he articulates with every limb, and talks from head to foot with a thousand voices. Is sin to be taken from man as Eve was from Adam by casting them into a deep slumber? Or from what possible perversion of common sense are we all to look like field-preachers in Zembla, holy lumps of ice, numbed into quiescence, and tognition and mumbling. When I began to thump the cushion of my pulpit, on first coming to Foston, as is my wont when I preach, the accumulated dust of a hundred and fifty years made such a cloud that for some minutes I lost sight of my congregation."

He was as intolerant of long as of dull discourses. "Why," he would exclaim, "will not people remember the Flood? If they had lived before it with the patriarchs they might have talked any stuff they pleased; but do let

them remember how little time they have under this new order of things."

In 1828 Lord Lyndhurst, then Lord Chancellor, appointed Sidney Smith to a vacant stall in Bristol Cathedral. It required no little courage on the part of the Chancellor to brave the opinions and opposition of his own party, and to make one of the ablest and most uncompromising of his political opponents, a dignitary of the church. The very first duty which he was called upon to perform in his new capacity was to preach the usual no-Popery sermon on the 5th of November. A less courageous man might have been satisfied with abstaining from all allusion to the Catholics. But Sidney Smith reversed the proceedings altogether, and poured into the ears of his astonished auditors a powerful discourse in favour of the Catholics upon the very Festival of Intolerance. Writing to Mr. Littleton (Lord Hatherton) two days after the sermon had been preached, he says: "At Bristol, on the 5th of November, I gave the Mayor and Corporation (the most Protestant Mayor and Corporation in England,) such a dose of toleration as shall last them for many a year. A deputation of the *pro-Popery* papers waited on me to print, but I declined." "He preached," says one who was present, "finely and bravely on this occasion, in direct opposition to the principles and prejudices of the persons in authority present, and ended by that beautiful apologue from Jeremy Taylor, illustrating charity and toleration, when Abraham, rising in wrath to put the way-faring man forth from his tent for refusing to worship the Lord his God, the voice of the Lord was heard in the tent, saying, 'Abraham! Abraham! have I borne with this man for threescore years and ten, and canst thou not bear with him for an hour?'"

On the very day on which he had preached he wrote to Lord Holland: "To-day I have preached an honest sermon, (5th of November,) before the Mayor and Corporation, in the Cathedral—the most Protestant Corporation in England! They stared at me with all their eyes. Several of them could not keep the turtle on their stomachs."

Shortly after his appointment as a Canon of Bristol, Mr. Smith was enabled, through the kindness of his friend, Lord Lyndhurst, to exchange Foston for the beautifully situated living of Combe Florey, near Taunton, in Somers-

setshire. He repaired the parsonage, and resided alternately in this place and in London till his death.

In September 1831, Earl Grey made Mr. Smith a Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral. He tells Mrs. Meynell, "I am just stepping into the carriage to be installed by the Bishop ... It is, I believe, a very good thing, and puts me at my ease for life. I asked for nothing—never did anything shabby to procure preferment. These are pleasing recollections." Lord Grey declared that he had resolved to make him a bishop. When he was appointed Prime Minister he exclaimed, "Now I shall be able to do something for Sidney Smith." No man had ever earned the office so well from his party. His life was blameless; he was perfectly orthodox according to Anglican ideas of orthodox doctrine, and zealous in the discharge of his ministerial duties. In 1818 he wrote to Jeffrey: "I must however beg the favour of you to be explicit on one point. Do you mean to take care that the Review shall not profess or encourage infidel principles? Unless this is the case I must absolutely give up all thought of connecting myself with it." Certain booksellers to whom he was personally unknown were in the habit of making him presents of books. Among these, on one occasion, there happened to be a work in which infidelity was advocated. In thanking the booksellers for their presents in a letter, dated July 30th, 1827, he tells them they must have "overlooked the purpose and tendency of that work, or they would not have sent it to him;" and he takes occasion to remonstrate with them on their intended publication of Voltaire's *Philosophical Dictionary*, which he saw amongst their advertisements. "I hate," he says, "the insolence, persecution, and intolerance which so often pass under the name of religion, and (as you know) I have fought against them; but I have an unaffected horror of irreligion and impiety; and every principle of suspicion and fear would be excited in me by a man who professed himself an infidel."

He could not accept of an Irish See, because he had cried out all his life against the monstrous injustice of that establishment, and earnestly exhorted Lord Grey to remodel it entirely; and only two English bishoprics fell vacant whilst this nobleman was Prime Minister. One of these was pre-engaged in some way, the nature of which we are not told, and the other was conferred by the king himself



upon Lord Grey's brother, as a mark of his esteem for the minister. As Mr. Smith expressed the matter to a friend at this time, "The upper parsons live vindictively, and evince their aversion to a Whig ministry by an improved health. The Bishop of — has the rancour to revive after three paralytic strokes, and the Dean of — to be vigorous at eighty-two. And yet these are men who are called Christians!"

During Lord Melbourne's administration, the Whigs had abundant opportunities of rewarding the man who had done more to make them ministers than any single individual in England. Lord Melbourne, indeed, regretted that he had not made him a bishop; but this repentance came too late, for it was after he had ceased to be minister. During his administration, Sidney wrote concerning him to Lady Holland: "Lord Melbourne always thinks that man best qualified for any office, of whom he has seen and known the least. Liberals of the eleventh hour abound! and there are some of the first hour, of whose works in the toil and heat of the day I have no recollection." Lord Melbourne was, himself, a case in point, for Sidney truly says that he does not remember to have seen his face while the profession of liberal principles was unprofitable and dangerous. "Pretended heterodoxy," he writes to Lord John Russell (April 3rd., 1837) is the plea with which the Bishops endeavoured to keep off the bench every man of spirit and independence, and to terrify *you* into the appointment of feeble men who will be sure to desert *you* (as all your bishops have lately and shamefully done) in a moment of peril...I defy — to quote a single passage of my writings contrary to the doctrines of the Church of England...I defy him to mention a single action of my life which he can call immoral...I am distinguished as a preacher, and sedulous as a parochial clergyman. His real charge is, that I am a high-spirited, honest, uncompromising man, whom all the bench of bishops could not turn, and who would set them all at defiance on great and vital questions...But I am thoroughly sincere in saying I would not take any bishopric whatever, and to this I pledge my honour and character as a gentleman." His eminent abilities were another very great obstacle to his promotion. "In England," he says, "when a man is a fool we only trust him with the immortal concerns of human beings." Had his promotion depended on any

one individual he would have got it, but as Lord Thurlow once said, "Who ever expected justice from a society? It has neither a soul to be saved nor a body to be kicked." We have no doubt however, that he was a happier man than if he had been made a bishop, and this he repeatedly declared himself during the latter years of his life.

In 1843, by the death of his fellow-canon, Mr. Tate, the very valuable living of Edmonton fell vacant, and by the rules of the chapter it lay with Mr. Smith either to take it himself, or present it to a friend. The late canon, Tate, was the man who had joined him in a minority of two in favour of Catholic Emancipation, against the combined bigotry of the parsons in Yorkshire, during a Tory Administration. Tate's son had officiated for some time as his father's curate, and the utmost hope of himself and of his family, which was almost totally dependent on him, was that he might be continued in his present situation by the new vicar. This hope was, however, so slender that the family were "in daily expectation of being turned out of house and curacy." Young Tate had about as much expectation of being made vicar of Edmonton with house, lands, and eight hundred a year, as he had of being elevated to the throne of Oude. Sydney, however, determined to appoint the son of his brave old colleague to the vicarage if he should find him fit for the office. For this purpose he went to Edmonton, and found that the family consisted of three delicate daughters, an aunt, the old lady and her son the curate, who he thought could be converted into a tolerable vicar. He tells the scene that followed in a letter to his wife, which no man with a particle of sensibility can read without moist eyes.

"I began," he says, "by inquiring the character of their servant; then turned the conversation upon their affairs, and expressed a hope the chapter might ultimately do something for them. I then said 'it is my duty to state to you (they were all assembled) that I have given away the living of Edmonton; and have written to our Chapter clerk this morning, to mention the person to whom I have given it; and I must also tell you that I am sure he will *appoint his curate*.' (A general silence and dejection.) 'It is a very odd coincidence,' I added, 'that the gentleman I have selected is a namesake of this family; his name is Tate. Have you any relations of that name?' 'No we have not.' And by a more singular coincidence, his name is Thomas Tate; in short, I added, 'there is no use in mincing the matter, you are vicar of Edmonton.'

They all burst into tears. It flung me also into a great agitation of tears, and I wept and groaned for a long time. Then I rose, and said I thought it was very likely to end in their keeping a buggy, at which we all laughed as violently. The poor old lady, who was sleeping in a garret because she could not bear to enter into the room lately inhabited by her husband, sent for me and kissed me, sobbing with a thousand emotions. The charitable physician wept too...I never passed so remarkable a morning, nor was more deeply impressed with the sufferings of human life, and never felt more thoroughly the happiness of doing good."

This man had a heart, but young Tate had none, for he no sooner got himself securely fixed in the parish than, in spite of his benefactor's remonstrances, he turned out his fellow-curate, who by a singular coincidence, was also the son of a former vicar of Edmonton.

Towards the end of his life, Sidney Smith became a rich man. His younger brother spent his years in India in amassing £100,000, came home an old, infirm, solitary man, and died suddenly without making any will. To the third part of this sum Sidney became entitled. "After buying," he says, "into the Consols and the Reduced, I read Seneca 'On the contempt of Wealth.' What intolerable nonsense." This was his creed. To be kind, benevolent, honest, moral, and to enjoy all the good he could get out of the world. He says he felt happier for every pound he got richer. Had he looked into the gospel instead of Seneca, he might have found better reasons for despising wealth. The year before he died he gives this true picture of himself, in a letter dated June 29, 1844. "I am seventy-four years of age; and being Canon of St. Paul's and a rector of a parish in the country, my time is divided equally between town and country. I am living amongst the best society in the Metropolis, and at ease in my circumstances; in tolerable health, a mild Whig, a tolerating Churchman, and much given to talking, laughing, and noise. I dine with the rich in London, and physic the poor in the country; passing from the saucers of Dives to the sores of Lazarus. I am upon the whole a happy man; have found the world an entertaining world, and am thankful to providence for the part allotted to me in it." He laughed even at his own maladies. "Mrs. Sidney," he says to a friend, "has eight distinct illnesses and I have nine. We take something every hour, and pass the mixture from one to the other." "I am only

half recovered," he tells Lord Mahon, "from a violent attack of gout in the knee, and I could not bear the confinement of dinner, without getting up and walking between the courses, or thrusting my foot on somebody else's chair, like the Archbishop of Dublin." He was, in fact, not unlike the portrait he drew of one of his acquaintances: "Going gently down hill, trusting that the cookery in another planet may be at least as good as in this, but not without apprehension that for misconduct here, he might be sentenced to a thousand years of tough mutton, or condemned to a little eternity of family dinners."

He studied comfort in everything. "Very high and very low temperature," he said, "extinguishes all human sympathy and relations. It is impossible to feel affection beyond 78°, or below 20° of Fahrenheit; human nature is too solid or too liquid beyond these limits. Man only lives to shiver or to perspire...I cannot fall into the absurd English fashion of going in open carriages in the months of December and January—seasons when I should prefer to go in a bottle, well corked and sealed."

He was passionately fond of society and always had the lion's share of the conversation. Mc.Auley and he, he said, often as they met, never once heard each other's voice. And when he had finished a good story he would say: "Poor Mc.Auley, he will regret not having heard that." An American lady would not listen, and insisted on having the talk to herself; Sidney revenged himself by describing her as one "who abuses the privilege of literary women, to be plain; and, in addition, has the true Kentucky twang through the nose, converting that promontory into an organ of speech."

Like Johnson he disliked country life, and loved the city only. "The summer and the country," he says, "have no charm for me. I look forward anxiously to the return of bad weather, coal fires, and good society in a crowded city. I have no relish for the country; it is a kind of healthy grave. I am afraid you are not exempt from the delusion of flowers, green turf, and birds; they all afford slight gratification, but not worth an hour of rational conversation: and rational conversation in sufficient quantities is only to be had from the congregation of a million of people in one spot." He cared not for the acquaintance of the vegetable world, and were it not for the interference of friends "would order the roses to be boiled for

dinner, and gather a cauliflower for a nosegay." "The real use of the country," he said, "is to find food for cities; but as for the residence of any man who is neither butcher nor baker, nor food-grower in any of its branches, it is a dreadful waste of existence and abuse of life." "Mrs. Sidney and I," he tells Lady Grey, "have been leading a Darby-and-Joan life for these last two months, without children. This kind of life might have done very well for Adam and Eve in Paradise, where the weather was fine and the beasts as numerous as in the Zoological Gardens, and the plants equal to anything in the gardens about London, but I like a greater variety.....We are expecting some company, but the idea of filling a country house with pleasant people is a dream; it all ends in excuses and disappointments, and nobody comes but the parson of the parish.....I suspect that the fifth act of life should be in great cities; it is there, in the long death of old age, that a man most forgets himself and his infirmities; receives the greatest consolation from the attention of his friends, and the greatest diversion from external circumstances." "We are," he tells his daughter, "going through our usual course of jokes and dinners; one advantage of the country is, that a joke once established is good for ever; it is like the stuff which is denominated *everlasting*, and used as pantaloons by careful parents for their children. In London you expect a change of pleasantry; but M. and N. laugh more at my six-year-old jokes than they did when the jokes were in their infancy."

Amongst his other maladies, he was subject to hay-fever. "My fear is," he says, "perishing by deliquescence; I melt away in nasal and lachrymal profluvia... Light, dust, contradiction, an absurd remark, the sight of a dissenter sets me sneezing; and if I begin sneezing at twelve I do not leave off until two o'clock, and am heard distinctly in Taunton when the wind sets that way,—a distance of six miles."

In 1835 he took his wife and youngest daughter, Mrs. Hibbert, to Paris. To his eldest daughter, Lady Holland, he thus describes the passage from Dover to Calais: "It blew a hurricane all that night, and we were kept awake by thinking of the different fish by which we should be devoured, on the following day. I thought I should fall to the lot of some female porpoise, who, mistaking me for a porpoise, but finding me only a parson, would make a

dinner of me." He often jests about his obesity, but as death approached he began to grow lean. "If," he says, to the Countess of Carlisle, "you hear of sixteen or eighteen pounds of human flesh, they belong to me. I look as if a curate had been taken out of me."

This letter to the Countess of Carlisle, which is the last but one in the volume, was written on the 21st of October, 1844, and he died in London, on the 22nd of February, 1845. We have endeavoured to convey some idea of that exhaustless fund of wit, which renders the volume containing his letters as interesting as a good novel; and to exhibit him as an affectionate husband, a loving father, a faithful friend, and a powerful and unflinching advocate of right and justice. No man ever had an equal power of converting words into "sharp swords," and he was not sparing of his weapons when intolerance was to be beaten down, or cant and hypocrisy to be stripped of the mask and exposed to the scorn of the world.

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### NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.—*The Annals of Ireland, by the Four Masters.* Consisting of the Irish Text, from the Original MS., and an English Translation, with copious explanatory Notes, and an Index of Names, Places, and Events. By JOHN O'DONOVAN, L.L.D. New Edition (Prospectus). Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 1855.

It is needless for us to say one word in recommendation of this great national undertaking. We have already spoken at great length of the first edition, which was published several years ago. The reprint of that edition now in preparation is to us a source of still higher gratification. It will bring the work within the reach of many to whose means the earlier and more expensive edition was found unsuitable; and while it contains precisely the same matter as the former, and is printed in a style, which, if not equally luxurious, is quite as elegant and substantial, it is issued at a cost from which comparatively humble collectors may not shrink.

To the patronage of our clergy especially, we commend a work which for them possesses a peculiar interest, and which comes before them sanctioned by the unanimous recommendation of the episcopal body.



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